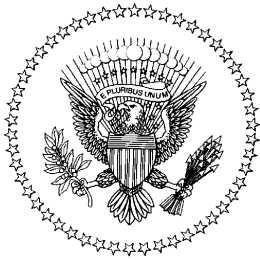


Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, August 9, 1999  
Volume 35—Number 31  
Pages 1529–1576

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**Editor's Note:** The President was in Little Rock, AR, on August 6, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

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Week Ending Friday, August 6, 1999

**Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion  
With Regional Independent Media in  
Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina**

*July 30, 1999*

**Postwar Bosnia**

*[The discussion began with a Sarajevo journalist thanking the President for his action in Bosnia and his support for democracy. He asked about the leadership of President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and U.S. efforts to help deliver indicted war criminals to the War Crimes Tribunal.]*

**The President.** Let me answer the second question first because I think it leads us back to the first question. We were the principal supporter of creating this War Crimes Tribunal, and we have made very strong contributions to it, financial contributions. And we have worked hard to cooperate with it. So the answer to that is, we have cooperated strongly.

We also have been a part of an operation in Bosnia that has arrested, I think, about 29 of the 80 people who have been indicted. In the case of Mr. Mladic and Mr. Karadzic, they're not in the American sector. And when the United Nations accepted the mandate of going into Bosnia, the mandate was that they could and would arrest any people who had been indicated by the War Crimes Tribunal if they, in effect, came across them, but they wouldn't start another war to get them. That was basically the mandate. And I think we should continue to do everything we can to arrest people. But I think if—there's no question that the effectiveness, the impact, of both those men has been, in effect, ended or dramatically reduced.

Now, to go back to your first question. You said, is Milosevic the only nationalist politician who's causing problems? I don't think you could go that far, but I believe that basically the misery of Bosnia, the war, the 4-

year war, and what happened in Kosovo is because of his 12-year rule and because he had a policy to gain and enhance his power based on selling "Greater Serbia" to people, the idea that anybody who wasn't a Serb was an enemy, had no political legitimacy, that their religion was no good, their ethnic background was no good, it was okay to disregard them and uproot them, and maybe okay to kill them.

And here in Bosnia, 250,000 people died, and a quarter of a million people were made refugees. In Kosovo, because we acted more quickly, not so many people died. We know of 10,000, although there are a lot of mass graves that have been dug up, and people have been moved, so we don't know for sure. But 800,000 or more refugees—most of them have gone home in Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, where, because the thing went on longer here, they are taking longer to go back.

So I say, you know, each—the politicians, when they run for office, there are all kinds of shades, you know. There are people who may be nationalists but still prepared to work with people of different ethnic groups, different religious backgrounds. And I think that the difference is that he was willing to have ethnic cleansing and even mass killing to achieve his objectives. And I think that's wrong.

Then you asked me if I thought Bosnia, the people could actually be reconciled. Yes, I believe so, but I think we have to keep giving people something to work for. It's not enough to go around and tell people, after this sort of killing and bitterness, that, "Now, be nice people," you know, "Just do the right thing." You have to give them something positive, some reason to work together.

And what I saw today, with the Bosnian Presidency, was that they were—you know, sure, there's still tensions. There are all these refugee-return issues, for example—big issues out there. But they were much more comfortable together and, obviously, had

more in common than they did 2 years ago. And I think that's a plus.

### **Montenegro**

*[After describing current conditions in Montenegro and noting U.S. support for the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), a Montenegrin journalist asked the President if he would support Montenegrin independence or work against it.]*

**The President.** Well, first of all, you have asked a very good set of questions because—but I think I need to back up and say, we very much appreciate the role that Montenegro has played in these last difficult months. It has been in a very hard position. It has been vulnerable to invasion, as you pointed out. And the government of President Djukanovic maintained a position of independence and the position that Montenegro should acquire more and more autonomy and should be a democratic and multiethnic society—that's what we believe.

Now, here's the problem. Obviously, and you've pointed out quite properly that we shouldn't punish Montenegro with withholding aid, reconstruction aid, for example, just because it's part of Yugoslavia. And that's a good example of the dilemma.

Here's what I'm interested in. I want the people of Montenegro to have maximum freedom and maximum self-determination. But I don't think it's a good idea for the United States, or for Western Europe generally, to get in the business of redrawing national borders right now. Who knows what is going to happen in the future? I think—we need to stand for a certain set of principles.

But what I want to say to all the ethnic groups of the Balkans, and all of southeastern Europe, is that we have to build a future in which your safety, your right to freedom of religion, freedom of speech, access to education, access to a job, does not depend upon your living in a nation where everybody inside the nation's borders has the same religion you do and the same ethnic group you do. And in the past, when outside powers have attempted to redraw the lines of the Balkans and impose that, the results have

been very painful for the people here. It's led to a lot of suffering.

So I don't want to strip any people of their democratic aspirations, and I don't think it's right for the United States to do that. But I also don't think it's right for us or for any other outside power to come in and, in effect, say, "Well, because we don't like Mr. Milosevic, we're going to redraw all the national boundaries," because the real trick here is to preserve democracy, self-determination, freedom from religious or racial or ethnic persecution in all these countries, without regard to the national borders.

And what we need is—and let me just make one other point. If we had the right sort of economic and political integration in southeastern Europe and then the right ties between southeastern Europe and the rest of Europe—central and Western Europe—then it wouldn't matter so much one way or the other.

That is, if you knew human rights were going to be protected, and if you knew everyone in this region was going to be tied together economically and politically, across national borders, and that the region would be tied to Europe and would have a future with the emerging European institutions, then the actual status—whether you were independent or autonomous, for example—wouldn't be nearly so important.

And what I've been afraid of—the reason I've been reluctant to say anything about territorial borders is, there is a whole history in the 20th century of disaster happening in the Balkans because of outside powers redrawing the national borders. We have to change the nature of national life and the nature of international cooperation, and then I believe, over the next few years, whatever is right about the national borders will settle down. The people will somehow determine that, not outsiders. That's what I think will happen.

### **Serbia**

*[The journalist pointed out that the Serbian infrastructure and economy had collapsed and asked how stability in Serbia could return, as long as Serbia is refused financial aid, and how the President planned to deal*

*with strong anti-American sentiments in Serbia. He also asked about past meetings between the President and Mr. Milosevic.]*

**The President.** In Paris.

**Q.** [*Inaudible*]*—in Paris, yes. So I—*

**The President.** And he was, of course, in the United States, at Dayton.

**Q.** Yes, but you met him in Paris. And I think that you will never meet him again because he is now an indicted war criminal. But I want to ask your personal impression about Mr. Milosevic. How do you keep him in your mind—as a rival, stubborn rival? You hope, now, for almost—

**The President.** Let me answer you that. You asked, first of all, about aid to Serbia because the Serbs have been hurt very badly by this war. And then you ask about—

**Q.** The anti-American mood.

**The President.** —the anti-American feeling, and then my personal impressions of Mr. Milosevic.

The international community has taken the position that we would support humanitarian assistance to the Serbian people, because we realize that we have very badly damaged Serbia, economically, and stretched the social fabric in this conflict. We would like very much to—the United States, in particular, would like to participate in the rebuilding of Serbia, because we have many Americans of Serbian heritage and because we want to make it clear that we're not anti-Serb; we were against Mr. Milosevic's policies. But we do not believe at this moment we can or should go beyond the humanitarian aid, for the simple reason that if we do, it will strengthen Mr. Milosevic's hold on power. So it's a terrible dilemma. But the people of Serbia need to find some way to change their government.

He has been charged by the War Crimes Tribunal. The evidence is overwhelming. The reason we acted so quickly in the case of Kosovo was because of the horrible experience we had in Bosnia, and I was President for 2 of those years. It was a nightmare, and we only got the international community galvanized to take action after Srebrenica. So I think that, if the people of Serbia want us to be involved beyond humanitarian aid, then there needs to be a change in the government.

Now, in terms of anti-American feeling, I can only say I understand it, even though we didn't act alone and all of our European allies agreed with us. We have the largest military, and we dropped the most bombs. And unfortunately, there were some innocent civilians killed in the bombs, and I feel terrible about it, and I understand it.

But I just would ask the people to consider the position I was in. When I first became President, I tried talking with Mr. Milosevic for 2½ years. And tens of thousands of people died in Bosnia. Here, we knew they had a plan. We knew that the Milosevic government had a plan to systematically uproot the Kosovars, to kill, to loot, to destroy the property records in a very systematic way. And we did not want to wait another year or 2 and let all these people die and all these refugees be created and then not come home.

If you look in Bosnia, here, we're sitting here in Sarajevo, and over a million people have still not come back. In Kosovo, because we moved immediately, 90 percent of the refugees have already gone home.

So if the Serbs are mad at me, I understand that, and I accept it as part of the inevitable consequences of a terrible conflict. But I want them to know they can continue to be mad at me, but the United States does not hate Serbia. We do not have anything against the Serbian people. Our country is a better country because we have so many Serbs in America. And I want to be involved in the reconstruction of Serbia, and I want Serbia to have a leading role in southeastern Europe in the future.

But we have got to put an end to ethnic cleansing. The politics that have driven Mr. Milosevic's government and power for the last 12 years have got to be put aside. The idea of racial or religious superiority has got to go into the dustbin of history.

And I'm very sympathetic with it. It had a big hold on America—you know, the idea that whites were superior to blacks had a big hold on America. We didn't elect a Catholic President until 1960 in the United States. I understand these things. But you can't—we've reached a point now where we can no longer sanction this sort of slaughter. And I think it's a good thing for the world. So the people can be mad at me, but they need

to know Americans have nothing against Serbs. We opposed what Mr. Milosevic did.

And the third question you asked me was about my impressions of Mr. Milosevic. I am reluctant to say much, you know, because at home people are always psychoanalyzing me. You know, they meet President Clinton, "Why was your President President Clinton?"

I think he is a very intelligent man. I think that he can be charming. But I think there are two problems that he has, that have proved fatal. Number one, he has built his political power on the idea of the religious and ethnic superiority of Serbs and their inherent right not only to be a part of but to completely dominate whatever he decides is "Greater Serbia." He thought it was what is generally the Republic Srpska, now, in Bosnia. He took the autonomy away from Kosovo, which it once had. Now you have Hungarians in Vojvodina, and you have the Montenegrans worried, because he basically has created this fear, this paranoia, in the Serbian population, and then he fed it, like a fire, with the bodies and lives of others.

Now, you know, there were other excesses in this region. The others are not pure. But he created this whole thing, and he drove it home in Bosnia, and then he drove it home in Kosovo. And I think he had—in other words, I think he had a dark and terrible idea.

The other thing I observed from watching him is, perhaps because of the tragedies of his own life—he had terrible tragedies, you know, as a child, with his parents and all—I feel very badly about it, but I don't think he feels the way normal people would feel when they make decisions that cost people their lives.

I know, you see, I know when I ordered those airplanes to fly over Serbia, I knew innocent people would die, and I hated it. And the only reason I did it was because I knew I was saving many, many tens of thousands of people's lives, more than would die.

I think to him it doesn't matter. That's the only thing I can conclude. After watching 250,000 people die in Bosnia and seeing these stories of these children raped and these children—they were draft-age boys—killed en masse, and these people wrapped up in a circle and burned alive, and it hap-

pens over and over and over again—I can only conclude that he has no—for whatever reason, he doesn't have normal feelings.

So those are my two problems with Mr. Milosevic. I think this idea of ethnic and religious superiority is the biggest threat to civilization in the world today, not just in the Balkans—Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Africa, you just go right down the line, everywhere in the world. In the United States—we had a guy go crazy the other day and kill a bunch of people of different races in the United—did you see it? In two States?

**Q.** Yes.

**The President.** Killing these people. Why? Because he belonged to some crazy religious cult that convinced him he had the right to do that.

So that's what I feel. I think it's quite a tragedy because he's an intelligent man, and he can be an engaging man. And I talked to him in Paris, and I thought we had an understanding. I was quite surprised actually in the beginning—he knew after what I did in Bosnia that I would do this. So I don't know how he could have thought I was bluffing him after what we went through in Bosnia, when I said, if you do what you intend to do in Kosovo, this is what I will do. He should have been under no illusion. I think he thought maybe the other Europeans wouldn't stay hitched.

But I made a decision—I agonized through 2 long years of what we went through in Bosnia, and I was not about to let all those people die again. I just was not. I couldn't do it. So, anyway, that's my impression. I think it's quite a tragedy really, because he has a lot of ability.

**Q.** Thank you.

### ***Bosnia After the Dayton Accords***

**Q.** Mr. President, we talk about—what are the basis for the optimism regarding peace Stability Pact for the Balkans if we know how little politicians from the former Yugoslavia work on the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement?

**The President.** I would make two points. First of all, I think both here and perhaps in Europe and the United States, we tend to underestimate how much progress has been made in Bosnia since Dayton. That is,



there are common governmental institutions; there's a common currency. After the economy was completely destroyed, it's been growing at about 40 percent a year since then. I realize it's got a long way to go because it was at nothing. The shared institutions have functioned in many ways. So I do not believe that we have made no progress. I think the biggest problem with the Dayton agreement is we still have 1.2 million refugees who haven't come back. And the return of refugees in areas where they are minorities is still very slow.

But if you look at the leadership of Mr. Dodik in the Republic of Srpska, for example, I think he's been quite a progressive, cooperative person. I met with both Prime Ministers today, as well as the three Presidents.

So what I draw from watching what has and what hasn't happened since Dayton is that we need more help to this whole in governance, that is, what kind of legal changes do you have to make to get people to put their money in your country and put your people to work? How do you fight, more effectively, crime?

But the crime problems in the Balkans—you know, that we have organized crime all over the world now—it's not just here. So it's just really a question of do you have the capacity to fight it. You shouldn't feel that there's something wrong, intrinsically wrong with your region because you have this organized crime problem. It's everywhere in the world. So the real issue is, do you have the capacity to fight it? We have to build that. So I think that's important.

Now, in addition to that, the reason I'm optimistic about the Stability Pact is that I think that the experience of Kosovo, coming after the experience of Bosnia, was very sobering for me and for the European leaders. And I think we saw clearly that if we didn't want another Balkan war, we had not only to take a strong stance against Mr. Milosevic and against ethnic cleansing; we had to offer a better future for all the people of the region. There had to be a way to bring people together around a common economic and political future within the region, and then a way to bring the region closer together with

the rest of Europe and to keep us involved in a positive way.

So that's why I'm optimistic. I think that all these people who came here today, I think they understand that. I don't think they're kidding. I think they really know that—well, let me make one other point—backup, if I might.

In 1993, when I became President, I realized that we had fought two World Wars in Europe; that we had had this long cold war with communism in Europe; that before the 20th century, Europe for hundreds of years had been afflicted by wars as people sought advantage of land; and that for the first time ever, we now had a chance to build a Europe that was democratic everywhere, that was drawing together in a common political and economic union and that was at peace; and the biggest threat were the religious and ethnic conflicts of the Balkans.

I think now, after all this work of the last 6 years, we now know that unless we build a common economic future and a common political future, we're going to have—there will someday be another Balkan war. And that's why I'm optimistic, because I think we have learned our lessons, and I think we are ready to make this common commitment.

One more. Yes, let him ask one more, and then we've got to go.

### ***Corruption in Southeast Europe***

**Q.** With new power, we have new problem, corruption. Does the international community intend to fight against our corruption?

**The President.** Yes, but a lot of it is you have to do it yourself, and we have to help you fight against it because—and you see this everywhere. Again, a lot of former socialist states convert to democratic states and privatize property, but when we privatize—when we have private property in America, we also have strong economic institutions to preserve the integrity of the economy, to keep dishonesty out. We have strong, sophisticated law enforcement institutions, and even we still have problems. Everybody has problems.

So, I think you should—you shouldn't feel that there's something wrong with your country because this vulnerability is everywhere.

And we have to—we will help you—we have to help you fight corruption. But you shouldn't feel that there's something really badly wrong with you; you should just fight it.

And one of the most important things is a free press. Keep in mind, in any society, most people are honest. In every society on Earth, most people are honest. And in most societies, the people who do turn to crime don't do it unless they have—they feel like they have no other choice. That is, in any society, there are only a small percentage of people who deliberately decide to make money illegally.

But this is a worldwide problem we face, this corruption problem now. And if you will fight it, we will help you. And the press has got to be a major part of the battle.

Thank you.

NOTE: The roundtable began at 6 p.m. at Treca Gimnazija (Third High School) on July 30 and was taped for later broadcast. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 30 but was embargoed for release until July 31. In his remarks, the President referred to indicted war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic; President Milo Djukanovic of Montenegro; Prime Minister Milorad Dodik of Republika Srpska; and Presidency Chairman (Serb) Zivko Radisic, Presidency Member (Croat) Ante Jelavic, and Presidency Member (Muslim) Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this discussion.

## **The President's Radio Address**

*July 31, 1999*

Good morning. More than a year and a half ago, I asked Congress to pass a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights that ensures critical protections for Americans in managed care, from the right to see a specialist if your doctor recommends it, to the right to emergency room care whenever and wherever you need it, to the right to keep your doctor through a treatment—even if your employer changes HMO coverage—to the right to hold health plans accountable for harmful decisions.

Now, according to a new survey out just this week, physicians believe that when their

patients are denied services under managed care, up to two-thirds of the time those denials lead to serious declines in patients' health. Clearly, patients need protections. The bottom line must never take precedence over patients' needs, and too often it does today.

Using my authority as President, I've already acted to make these rights real for 85 million Americans who get their health care through Federal plans, from Medicare and Medicaid to the Veterans Administration health plan that serves millions of veterans and their families. Evidence shows putting in patients' rights raised the cost of these plans by only a dollar a month, so we know these rights are affordable, as well as crucial. Yet, until Congress acts, tens of millions of Americans in managed care are still waiting for the full protection of a Patients' Bill of Rights. Democrats in Congress have long been pressing to pass a strong Patients' Bill of Rights that would cover all Americans in all health care plans. And nearly every doctors' association, every nurses' association, every patients' rights group in America—over 200 of them—supports this approach.

The Republican leadership in Congress, on the other hand, has long resisted, supporting instead a weak alternative that is a Patients' Bill of Rights in name only. It doesn't even cover 100 million Americans. Now, the Senate barely passed such a weak bill over the opposition of every single Democratic Member and a couple of brave Republicans. Hopefully, we can still make progress. Just this week, several Republican House Members, led by some who, themselves, are doctors, forcefully raised their voices in support of a strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights. This is very good news, indeed. It means there is a bipartisan consensus emerging behind a bill that would give all Americans the health protections they need. This bill should be debated and voted on this coming week, before Congress adjourns for the summer. If that happens, I believe the bill would pass, and the American people would benefit.

Unfortunately, House Republican leaders, who earlier this week said they would schedule a vote on the Patients' Bill of Rights this

month, yesterday began backing away from that commitment when it became clear that a real Patients' Bill of Rights might well pass. This is very disappointing, and I call on them to reconsider. If the House is brave enough to protect the American people over the intense lobbying of the health insurance companies, the Republican leadership shouldn't stand in their way. The American people sent us to Washington to get work done, and Congress shouldn't go on summer vacation without voting on the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Protecting patients' rights shouldn't be a political issue; after all, no one asks us what our party affiliation is when we show up at the emergency room or the doctor's office. And in fact, this isn't a partisan issue anywhere else in America. It shouldn't be in Washington, DC. Let's make this summer a season of progress for all Americans. Let's hold an open and fair debate and pass a real Patients' Bill of Rights that will truly strengthen our health care system, strengthen our families, and strengthen our Nation for the 21st century.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 10 p.m. on July 30 aboard Air Force One at Aviano Air Force Base, Italy, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on July 31. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 30 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

## Radio Remarks on Farm Aid

*July 31, 1999*

As America's farmers look ahead to this year's harvest, what should be a time of reward and satisfaction is instead becoming a time of disappointment and for some, for too many, a time of ruin.

From dropping crop prices to diminishing foreign markets to devastating droughts in some parts of the country, many of our farmers and ranchers are facing the worst crisis in a decade. My administration has done what we can to ease this crisis, from increasing our food purchases for humanitarian aid around the world, to speeding up farm program payments, to ensuring \$6 billion in emergency aid last year to help farmers in

need. To really help our farmers and ranchers, we have to fix the underlying problem.

Let's just face it: the 1996 farm bill simply does not do enough to help our farmers and ranchers cope in hard times. It doesn't give me or the United States Department of Agriculture the tools we need to help farmers and ranchers thrive over the long term—from providing critical income assistance to farmers who need it most in bad years, to making it easier for farmers to buy crop insurance and improving our crop insurance program, to continuing our efforts to expand markets abroad and ensure fair practices here at home. That's the right way to help our farmers and ranchers over the long term.

I am committed to working with Congress to provide the resources to help our farmers and ranchers by dealing with today's crisis and by fixing the farm bill for the future. We must do so in a way that maintains the fiscal discipline that has created our prosperity and that now makes it possible for us to save Social Security, to strengthen and modernize Medicare with a prescription drug benefit, and to pay off our national debt, guaranteeing our long-term financial prosperity. These things are good for America's farming and ranching families, too, and they're good for all Americans.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 10 p.m. on July 30 aboard Air Force One at Aviano Air Force Base, Italy, for later broadcast. This transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 31. The President's remarks were made available on the White House Press Office Radio Actuality Line. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## Remarks on the Antidrug Initiative

*August 2, 1999*

**The President.** Thank you so much. Andy, you might consider politics when you get out of skateboarding. [Laughter] You have to fall down a lot. It's about as dangerous. And we could use you. I thought he did a terrific job. Let's give him another hand. [Applause] Thank you.

General McCaffrey, thank you so much, and all your team, for the wonderful job you do. I met General McCaffrey when he was

still in uniform, and I decided he could do just about anything he put his mind to, and I think he's just about proved it. I think he and the whole team, all of them who are here, have done a wonderful job. I'm grateful to them.

Jim Burke, thank you so much—you and the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, for everything you have done, and for the inspiration and the urging you have given to me these last 6½ years. Thank you, Peggy Conlon and the Ad Council for all you have done to make this media campaign a success. And I want to thank Senator Specter and Congressman Levin and Congressman Cummings for being here, because the Congress has been a critical part of this.

Let me say, before I get into my brief remarks and we watch the ads, which is why we all came here—because this is my first opportunity to meet with the media today, I want to say a word about this heat wave that is going on in our country that now has claimed at least 190 lives and caused great hardship, especially for a lot of our farmers and ranchers.

### ***Farm Aid***

Our Secretary of Agriculture, Dan Glickman, today issued an emergency declaration for all of West Virginia and for counties in surrounding States which will give family farm operators eligibility for low-interest emergency loans. We're also working with local governments and private agencies to help farmers get water and hay to keep their livestock alive. It's literally a problem for them to keep their livelihoods alive. I'm also committed to working with this Congress to provide the resources to help our farmers and ranchers to deal with the crisis today and by fixing the farm bill for the future.

To others, especially our elderly who are very vulnerable in this heat, we have provided \$100 million to pay for air-conditioning and fans, and I expect we will be doing more things in the days ahead.

### ***Antidrug Initiative***

Now, let me talk a little bit about this whole antidrug effort, and let me begin with something that has not yet been mentioned. We owe a profound debt to the men and

women who are engaged in this struggle for our children's lives and future. All those who are here today or their groups have been mentioned. I also want to say a special word of appreciation to the young people who are here who remind us what this campaign is all about. And there are a lot of young people here today, and I want to thank all of them for being here.

I'd also like to say that we should not let this moment go by without acknowledging the enormous courage of a lot of our men and women in various Federal services and the Armed Services who are working to prevent drugs from coming here in the first place.

Last week we mourned the loss of five U.S. Army personnel who died with their Colombian colleagues when their antidrug reconnaissance plane crashed in the Andes. They perished far from home, but in a very real sense they gave their lives to protect our families, our neighborhoods, our Nation, indeed, our national security. We honor their commitment. We remember their sacrifice. And I'm sure all of us will join in a pledge to continue their work.

I also want to say that as much work as still remains to be done, I'd like to take a moment just to celebrate the work that all of you have done. When we were out there running for office in 1992, the Vice President had this hilarious rap about everything that should be up was down, and everything that should be down was up, and everything was all mixed up. And it is true. And one of the sad things that was up was drug use.

All of you, I suppose, have heard me say this, but I have had personal experience with the devastation drugs can bring to families. I know they can bring death, and, as I saw in my own family with my brother, they can also destroy lives. I also saw that they are not fatal if you survive them, that you can come back. For all of you who deal with drug treatment and who help young people overcome their problems, I am personally, profoundly grateful.

Since I've been here, I've done what I could to work with people who were committed to turning our children away from drugs and saving more families from going through what my family did. And again I say,

under the remarkable leadership of General McCaffrey and with the help of all the community groups and all the others here represented, we have seen the unrelenting increase in drug use begin to turn around. In the last 2 years, drug use has begun to decline among people of all ages for all types of drugs.

We've tried to do more with enforcement and prevention, more police on the street, doing more to keep drugs from coming into the United States, more drug testing of prisoners and parolees to break the link between drugs and crime. And of course, in December of 1997, we'd launched this sweeping effort to change the attitudes of an entire generation of young people with the unprecedented youth antidrug media campaign.

I'd like to just say a word here. Normally, the press in Washington focuses on what we are fighting about and what the parties disagree about. But we had enormous bipartisan support in Congress for this endeavor, and for that I am profoundly grateful.

It seemed a little awkward at first when General McCaffrey and I went to the Congress to ask for this money, but I kept pointing out—I said, “Look, guys, look how much money we raise every year to advertise. Every election, we advertise because we think that we have to get our message out. When I'm doing something up here people disagree with, groups get together and raise money, and they advertise, and they say the President is wrong.” And it's part of the American system. And here we've got a problem that is just as important, if not more important than anything else in our society, where we know we have a large number of our young people who may not be getting the right message, and it seemed to me totally illogical that we would not be using one of the most important weapons for influencing attitudes in a modern information age.

The media campaign appears to be working even better than we had thought across all grade levels, income levels, races, and genders. Today I will release the results of a detailed evaluation of the second phase of this campaign in which we began rolling out the ads nationwide. This report shows that if you're a teenager or a parent, it is nearly impossible to avoid seeing or hearing our

antidrug messages on television or radio several times a week. It shows the percentage of young people who said the ads made them stay away from drugs increased significantly during the course of the study.

We expected the ads would greatly increase awareness. What we didn't expect was that the ads would already have a measurable effect on attitudes. This is a very good sign. What it proves is, I suppose, what we should have known all along, that if advertising works in commerce and advertising works in politics, advertising ought to work on this issue as well.

I have to say a special word of appreciation to the Ad Council and all those who put the ads together, because they were, one, effective, and two, honest. And in order to have any enduring impact, I can tell you, having participated for 25 years, now, in doing political advertising, they have to be both effective and honest in order to last. And to all those who helped us put these ads together, I am very, very grateful.

Today we launch the next phase of the campaign. I think the most appropriate thing to do is just to show you a couple of our newest ads, and you will see that the gentleman who introduced me is in truth a professional athlete. *[Laughter]* So let's turn out the lights and watch the ad. We ought to turn the lights out. Otherwise, we won't be able to see them. *[Laughter]*

*[At this point, videotapes of the ads were shown.]*

**The President.** I told Andy that I had already seen him on television; even I, when I'm channel-surfing, sometimes catch the skateboarders. *[Laughter]* Every time I see him do that I think, you know, a couple of years ago I fell 6 inches and was hobbled for 6 months. *[Laughter]* Thank you.

Let me say, as important as this advertising is, it isn't enough. And I want to say a special word of appreciation for the partnerships at the national and community level, because everywhere young people go during every part of the day, they will see more than the television. They will see the message that drugs are wrong; they can kill; they are illegal.

This will outdo the "Star Wars" promotion for name and brand. You will see not just television, radio, newspapers, magazines, the Internet; you will see this message on bus stops and subway cars, movie screens, and video games. It will be in the classroom through cable programming in schools and substance abuse materials we'll provide the teachers.

It will be part of after-school activities, through organizations like the YMCA. The message will be part of an increasing number of sporting events, like basketball tournaments sponsored by the New York Knicks. And last month during the X Games, not only did we place antidrug messages everywhere the TV viewer could constantly see them, we also handed out stickers with the slogan, "Get vertical, not high." They became one of the hottest items for the hundreds of thousands of spectators who came to the X Games.

And as General McCaffrey said, we will get the word out in 11 languages other than English, including Spanish, Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Navaho and Lakota, a language I just tried out when I was at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

I think that this phase will be even more effective than the last phase of the campaign. And I think you will see real impacts on the behavior of our young people and that teen drug use will continue to decline.

But I would also say that no matter how effective all of you are, we still have to have more help as close to home as possible, with the parents sitting down and talking to their children, not waiting until their children are using drugs to talk about them, and with all the teachers, the coaches, the mentors, the community police, the health care workers and, of course, the religious leaders, making up what the First Lady always calls the village, that have to help raise our children.

And finally, I'd like to say that young people should not ever minimize the impact they can have not only on their own lives but on their friends and their siblings. In every school in America there's a young person who is a good kid but just a little lost or confused, who can be reached by a friend, very often who can be reached by a friend more than the President or any other figure in apparent authority.

So I say to all of you, first, thanks, and second, let's keep going. Together, we can give every single child in this country a chance to grow up in a world where the only limits are the outlines of their hopes and dreams. Not every child can be a skateboard champion like Andy, but every child can fly.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:57 a.m. in Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) in the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Andy Macdonald, professional skateboarder, who introduced the President; James E. Burke, chairman, Partnership for a Drug-Free America; and Peggy Conlon, president, Ad Council.

## Remarks at a Memorial Service for Dan Dutko

August 2, 1999

First, I would like to say on behalf of Hillary and myself how grateful we are for the life of our friend and how grateful we are for all of you who have come to be with us in honoring it and for those who have spoken before. I have now laughed, and I have cried, and I still miss him terribly.

Of all the metaphors we might use about Dan, most of which are funny, I think one which is not funny that really is best is that he was a gardener, for in all of our lives he planted seeds that bore fruit. In the Psalms, it says, "A good man shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water. His leaves shall not wither. Whatsoever he do, it shall prosper." Dan made the Earth bloom, wherever he planted himself.

The work and the people he touched were his blossom. All of us in this room, those of us who are in politics, those of us who are in private life, however he knew or touched us, he made us blossom more than we would have otherwise. And therefore, as decreed in the Psalms, his memory will never wither.

Now, I have a story to tell. I met Dan Dutko 27 years ago, in one of our great lost causes. [Laughter] I mean, this is a doozy. [Laughter] We were in the McGovern campaign in Texas. [Laughter] Now, it was bad enough to be in the McGovern campaign anywhere in Texas. [Laughter] Dan insisted

on leading the effort in west Texas—[laughter]—where it was hard to find anyone who would mention Senator McGovern's name.

He wanted to work for the campaign. He actually ran our effort in Tom Green County, where we got 30 percent of the vote. I might add, that was only 3 percent less than we got in the whole State. [Laughter] And everyone who looked at it thought it was the most remarkable performance of the entire campaign.

Well, all his life he loved big challenges. He stayed with me, and I turned out to be a bigger one than he bargained for. [Laughter] He was really—you know, talk about big words—he was sort of an oxymoron in popular imagination. He was someone others might call a lobbyist, whose integrity, honor were unquestioned. He became a person of consequence in Washington, even though he was born without a nickel to his name, because of that integrity and honor, because of energy and ability, and because, as you see, he had a huge network of devoted friends—enough, Rabbi, that probably we are violating some fire code here today.

He lived too briefly, but he did live the American dream. And he was a self-made man who never forgot where he came from. That's why he stayed in the Democratic Party and loved it so much. He thought everybody ought to have a chance to live out their dreams and become what God meant for them to be.

I want to say just one thing that meant a particular—a lot to me. When we got our brains beat out in the congressional elections of 1994, a lot of people became sunshine soldiers and were running for cover. Not Dan Dutko; man, he stepped out. He said, "This is just the sort of thing I'm looking for." [Laughter] Everyone wrote us off for dead, said the Democratic Party was becoming a historical artifact. Al Gore and I would have to next appear in a wax museum somewhere. [Laughter] Not Dan Dutko. He never had a doubt. He never paused. He never shirked. He was there in '96. The Vice President mentioned his role in our Inaugural in '97. He was there in '98. He was always the guy on our team that no one ever had to buck up. He was always the one who was lifting everyone else up. He was always the one who had

that miraculous combination of an infectious smile and a steely will and a genuinely good heart. But most of all, he was a gardener. He planted, and what he planted bloomed.

One of the previous speakers mentioned how much he liked to take promising young people and mentor them and help them flourish. So many of you here are a testament to that, including the new Senator from my home State, Blanche Lincoln, who started her career in Washington here as his personal assistant.

One of the things that I am most grateful that he nurtured was AmeriCorps, our national service program, which Debbie now leads magnificently. Whenever we were having trouble in Congress, he was there. His heart was there. His soul was there. His determination was there. And it came not just from his devotion to his wife but from his belief that all young people should have a chance to serve.

In no small measure, because of Dan Dutko, 100,000 of those young people have had their chance to serve. Hillary told me that even over our last weekend together in Aspen, Dan was talking to her about AmeriCorps' fifth anniversary and asking folks to help out with the celebration.

So we are grateful to him not only for his help to me and the Vice President but for his role in making America a better place. Most of all, we're grateful for his friendship. We loved having Dan and Deb over to the White House to watch movies. He was like me; he liked action movies. We thought there should be a category at the Academy Awards for best performance in totally inane film. [Laughter] The last one, we saw together just last month.

I don't think I ever met a man with a more genuine smile, more direct, clear, undebatable sense of good will just coming at you over and over and over again. I'll miss the way he talked about his wife and his sons. I'll miss the fact that he was always there, in the rain as well as the sunshine.

I want Deb, and most of all, his sons, to know that he was one of the principal reasons that I had a chance to serve our country as President. And I want them to know that we all know he was a good and loving father and husband—cared more for them than his own

life. And that is something that can sustain them for their lives.

This is a town obsessed with success. We normally score it by winning and losing. So if I might, I would like to close with Ralph Waldo Emerson's definition. He must have written it about Dan Dutko. "To laugh often and much, to win the respect of intelligent people and the affection of children. To appreciate beauty, find the best in others. To leave the world a little better, whether by a healthy child, a garden patch, or a redeemed social condition. To know even one life has breathed easier because you have lived—this is the meaning of success." And the meaning of our friend's life.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. at Temple Sinai. In his remarks, he referred to former Senator and 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee George McGovern; Rabbi Fred N. Reiner of Temple Sinai; and Mr. Dutko's widow, Deborah Jospin, Director, AmeriCorps, and sons Jonathan and Matthew.

### **Statement on Action To Reduce the National Debt**

*August 2, 1999*

Today my administration announced that the U.S. Government will pay down more than \$87 billion in the public debt this year—the largest debt reduction in America's history and a total reduction of \$142 billion over the last 2 years. This is an important result of the fiscal discipline which is helping keep our Nation on its path to economic prosperity. Six and a half years ago we made the decision to set a new course for our economy, to abandon the large deficits to pursue a new economic strategy of fiscal discipline, investment in our people, and expanded trade abroad. One of the results of this economic strategy has been a public debt that is \$1.7 trillion lower than it was projected to be when I came into office.

Debt reduction brings tangible benefits to America's working families through lower interest rates. These lower interest costs effectively represent a real and significant tax cut for America's families. Debt reduction lowers long-term interest rates for home mortgages and autos and lowers borrowing costs for

businesses, fueling private sector investments for continued economic growth. A typical American family with a home mortgage of \$100,000 could expect to have an estimated savings over the long run of more than \$2,000 a year because of these lower interests rates.

Despite the continued progress, now is not the time to rest on this achievement. We must continue this commitment to debt reduction and maintaining fiscal discipline. Under my framework to pay down the debt, save Social Security, and strengthen Medicare and invest in our children, the publicly held debt will be eliminated by 2015. This would represent the first time the Nation would be debt-free since the administration of President Andrew Jackson in 1835. We must maintain our commitment to reducing our debt and investing in our future.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions**

*August 2, 1999*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). My last report, consistent with Public Law 102-1, was transmitted on May 19, 1999.

#### **Overview**

We are convinced that as long as Saddam Hussein remains in power, he will continue to threaten the well-being of his people, the peace of the region, and vital U.S. interests. We will continue to contain these threats, but over the long term, the best way to address them is by encouraging the establishment of a new government in Baghdad. To this end, we continue to work intensively with the Iraqi opposition. In May, the Iraqi National Congress (INC) Interim Presidency Committee met with the Secretary of State, the



National Security Advisor, and several Members of Congress in Washington. The Department of State has been assisting the INC in its preparations for a National Assembly meeting. Also, the Department has been working with other nongovernmental organizations to develop projects to assist the Iraqi opposition and the Iraqi people in their efforts to achieve a regime change. In June, delegations from the two main Kurdish parties traveled to Washington to discuss the next steps in implementing the reconciliation agreement they signed in Washington last year.

During the last 60 days, we have also been working with members of the UNSC to build support to adopt a resolution that would reestablish an effective disarmament and monitoring presence inside Iraq, better meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people, and increase pressure on Iraq to account for those missing from the Gulf War, and return Kuwaiti property. The Security Council is currently continuing its discussions on these matters.

The United States continues to support the international community's efforts to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people through the oil-for-food program. On May 21, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1242, extending the program for another 180 days.

#### ***U.S. and Coalition Force Levels in the Gulf Region***

Saddam Hussein's record of aggressive behavior necessitates the deployment of a highly capable force in the region in order to deter Iraq from threatening its neighbors, reconstituting its WMD program, or moving against the Kurds in Northern Iraq. We will continue to maintain a robust posture and have established a rapid reinforcement capability to supplement our forces in the Gulf, if needed.

Our forces are a balanced mix of land and carrier-based aircraft, surface ships, a Patriot missile battalion, a mechanized battalion task force, and special operations units. To enhance force protection throughout the region, additional military security personnel are also deployed.

#### ***Operation Northern Watch and Operation Southern Watch***

Aircraft of the United States and coalition partners enforcing the no-fly zones over Iraq under Operations Northern Watch and Southern Watch are regularly illuminated by radar and engaged by anti-aircraft artillery, and occasionally, by surface-to-air missiles.

As a result of Iraq's no-fly zone violations and attacks on our aircraft, our aircrews continue to respond with force. United States and coalition forces are fully prepared and authorized to defend themselves against Iraqi threats while carrying out their no-fly zone enforcement mission and, when circumstances warranted, have engaged various components of the Iraqi integrated air defense system. While threats to our aircraft continue, actual Iraqi aircraft violations of the no-fly zones have declined.

#### ***The Maritime Interception Force***

The multinational Maritime Interception Force (MIF), operating in accordance with Resolution 665 and other relevant resolutions, continues to enforce U.N. sanctions in the Gulf. The U.S. Navy is the single largest component of the MIF, but it is frequently augmented by ships, aircraft, and other support assets from Australia, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Kuwait, The Netherlands, New Zealand, the UAE, and the United Kingdom. Member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) provide logistical and personnel support to the MIF, and accept vessels diverted for violating U.N. sanctions against Iraq.

The smuggling of refined petroleum products through the Gulf has remained at a low level since Operation Desert Fox. The MIF, and our ability rapidly to augment it, will continue to serve as a critical deterrent to both the smuggling of petroleum products out of the Gulf and the smuggling of prohibited items into Iraq.

#### ***UNSCOM/IAEA: Weapons of Mass Destruction***

There has been no United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) or International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) presence in Iraq since December 15, 1998. UNSCOM informed the Security Council on June 1 of

the status of UNSCOM's chemical laboratory, biological room, equipment, and components in the Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Center (BMVC). The Canal Hotel houses UNSCOM offices along with those of other U.N. activities in Iraq, such as the Office of the Iraq Programme, which implements the oil-for-food program. UNSCOM has analytical equipment and materials it would like to see removed in a straightforward technical operation as a precaution. The samples include less than one kilogram of seized Iraqi mustard agent. There are no immediate safety concerns. In June, UNSCOM recommended to the Security Council that UNSCOM send a team of experts to destroy the conventional lab chemicals, chemical standards, and biological samples, and request that Iraq cooperate. In July the U.N. Secretariat, in consultation with UNSCOM, deputized a team of experts to decommission the lab. UNSCOM provided an operations plan for the mission to the Secretariat. UNSCOM and U.S. experts trained the U.N. team in Bahrain. The U.N. team consisted of an UNSCOM administrator, a biologist from a German university, and four experts from the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).

### **Dual-Use Imports**

Resolution 1051 established a joint UNSCOM/IAEA unit to monitor Iraq's imports of allowed dual-use items. Iraq must notify the unit before it imports specific items that can be used in both weapons of mass destruction and civilian applications. Similarly, U.N. members must provide timely notification of exports to Iraq of such dual-use items. Since the withdrawal of UNSCOM and IAEA monitors, only some limited monitoring in certain sectors is being conducted by the U.N. Office of the Iraq Programme inspectors. This situation has presented new challenges for the U.N. Sanctions Committee and is a factor in the contract approval process. As a precautionary matter, the United States has placed holds on a number of dual-use contracts that might otherwise have been approved.

### **The U.N. Oil-for-Food Program**

We continue to support the international community's efforts to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people through the oil-for-food program. On May 21, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1242, extending the program for another 180 days. As in phase five, Iraq is again authorized to sell up to \$5.2 billion worth of oil in the coming 180 days. Because of the increase in world oil prices and increased exports, Iraq may reach the ceiling during this phase. As of June 14, U.N. reporting indicates that since the start of the oil-for-food program, 5,375 contracts for humanitarian goods worth over \$7 billion have been approved with 389 contracts worth \$351 million on hold and approximately 1,000 contracts in various stages of processing in the United Nations.

Within the oil-for-food program, Resolution 1242 maintains a separate program for northern Iraq, administered directly by the United Nations in consultation with the local population. This program, which the United States strongly supports, ensures that when Iraq contracts for the purchase of humanitarian goods, 13 to 15 percent of the funds generated under the oil-for-food program are spent on items for northern Iraq. The separate northern program was established because of Baghdad's repression and disregard for the humanitarian needs of the Kurdish, Assyrian, Yezidi, and Turkoman minorities in northern Iraq.

Humanitarian programs such as oil-for-food have steadily improved the life of the average Iraqi living under sanctions while denying Saddam Hussein control over Iraq's oil revenues. Currently, the ration basket provides over 2,000 calories per day per Iraqi. We will continue to work with the U.N. Secretariat, the Security Council, and others in the international community to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people are met while denying political or economic benefits to the Baghdad regime. In addition, we are working with the United Nations and other Security Council members to mitigate the effects of the current drought in Iraq.

### ***Northern Iraq: Kurdish Reconciliation***

In June, delegations from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) traveled to Washington to discuss the next steps in implementing the accord they signed in September 1998. Consensus was achieved on a number of confidence-building measures, including opening party offices in major cities throughout northern Iraq, eschewing negative press statements, countering the divisive influence of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), beginning the return of internally displaced persons, and creating a voter registration commission for upcoming elections. The delegations discussed other issues, such as revenue sharing, internal security, and the formation of an interim joint regional assembly and administration. They will continue these talks in northern Iraq and seek to implement steps that were agreed.

### ***The Human Rights Situation in Iraq***

The human rights situation in Iraq continues to fall far short of international norms, in violation of Resolution 688. That resolution explicitly notes that the consequences of the regime's repression of its own people constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region. It also demands immediate access by international humanitarian aid organizations to all Iraqis in need. However, for over 7 years the Iraqi government has refused to allow the U.N. Human Rights Commission Special Rapporteur for Iraq, Max Van der Stoep, to visit Iraq. U.N. human rights monitors have never been allowed into Iraq.

Severe repression continues in southern Iraq, as the regime works toward the destruction of the Marsh Arabs' way of life and the unique ecology of the southern marshes. The regime has repeatedly ignored appeals by Max Van der Stoep and others for access by human rights monitors to investigate these reports. The human rights monitors have asked to investigate the alleged assassination of three of Iraq's most senior Islamic clerics: Ayatollah Mohammed al-Sader in February 1999, Ayatollah Borujerdi in April 1998, and Ayatollah al-Gharavi in June 1998.

In the north, outside the Kurdish-controlled areas, the government continues the

forced expulsion of ethnic Kurds and Turkomans from Kirkuk and other cities.

### ***The Iraqi Opposition***

We are deepening our engagement with the forces of change in Iraq, helping Iraqis both inside and outside Iraq to become a more effective voice for the aspirations of the people. We will work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people, a government prepared to live in peace with its neighbors, and respects the rights of its citizens. We believe that a change of regime in Baghdad is inevitable, and that it is urgently incumbent on the world community to support the Iraqis who are working to ensure that change is positive. These Iraqis include the resistance inside the country, and those free Iraqis now in exile or in northern Iraq, who seek to improve the chances that the next government of Iraq will truly represent, serve, and protect all the Iraqi people.

The INC has stepped up its activities since the April 7-8 meeting of the Executive Council at Windsor. The Interim Presidency Committee visited Washington from May 24 to May 28 for meetings with the Secretary of State, the National Security Advisor, and several Members of Congress. In a demonstration of the growing cohesion among the Iraqi opposition, the INC leadership was accompanied by other key Sunni opposition leaders. The INC also sent a delegation to the United Nations in May to discuss humanitarian and human rights issues.

Over the last several weeks, the INC Executive Committee met again in London and the Interim Presidency Committee has worked on preparations for their National Assembly. The Department of State assisted the INC in these efforts by funding conference planning services with Economic Support Funds. Using these same funds, the Department of State worked with other non-governmental organizations to develop projects to assist the Iraqi opposition and the Iraqi people in their efforts to achieve regime change.

### ***The United Nations Compensation Commission***

The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to

Resolutions 687, 692, and 1210, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The UNCC has issued over 1.3 million awards worth approximately \$10 billion.

Thirty percent of the proceeds from authorized oil sales are allocated to the Compensation Fund to pay awards and finance UNCC operations. The UNCC Governing Council has determined that certain small claims by individuals will receive initial payments of \$2,500, before paying larger claims of either individuals or businesses and government agencies. In June, the Governing Council established the rules for making payments on the remaining small claims and the larger individual, corporate, and government claims. To date, the U.S. Government has received funds from the UNCC for initial installment payments for approximately 2,288 U.S. claimants.

### **Conclusion**

Iraq remains a serious threat to international peace and security. I remain determined to see Iraq fully comply with all of its obligations under Security Council resolutions. The United States looks forward to the day when Iraq rejoins the family of nations as a responsible and law-abiding member. I appreciate the support of the Congress for our efforts and shall continue to keep the Congress informed about this important issue.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate.

### **Message to the Congress Reporting a Budget Deferral**

*August 2, 1999*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report one revised deferral of budget authority, now totaling \$173 million.

The deferral affects programs of the Department of State.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 2, 1999.

### **Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner**

*August 2, 1999*

Thank you very much. I will be brief, but let me begin by thanking John Kerry for having us in his beautiful, beautiful home. He and Theresa have been very good for our country and very good for our party, and I am delighted to be here. And I want to thank all of you for coming.

Let me ask you to think about what I hope we'll be discussing in the following way. When I became President, I was trying to make sure that America would begin to function again at an acceptable level of performance so that the American people, who are basically out there getting up every day, working hard, doing a good job, would find some way to be better rewarded, and so that we could maximize these sweeping changes going through the world in how we work and how we live and how we relate to one another, both within this country and beyond our borders.

And so we set about trying to do that, and the results, I think, have been quite satisfactory in a lot of ways. And I'm grateful for that. If I could just make one point about it, the President does not do these things alone. John Kerry's leadership in the areas that he mentioned has been nothing short of brilliant. And without the support of the people in Congress who are our allies, none of it could have happened. So I'm grateful for that.

Now, I have a year and a half left on my term, and yet, I'm thinking more about the long term than I did even when I got here, for the simple reason that we are now in a position to think about the long term and about how we can do more than just make the country work but how we can secure a framework for opportunity for America, for a greater social justice, for a greater good

at home and around the world than ever before. That's why I think it's important that we not blow this surplus we waited 30 years to produce until we have fundamentally secured the challenge of the aging of America by doing something about Social Security and Medicare. It's why I think it's important that we not, while the economy is rocking along very well, pass a tax cut that would undermine our ability to meet our commitments in education, the environment, biomedical research, and other areas. I think that's very important.

But I also think we need to be thinking about those fundamental things in society that have not fully incorporated what most of you have done very well doing, which is riding the wave of the information revolution. We have, thanks to the Vice President, done our best to have good policies, whether it was in the Telecommunications Act or a lot of other specific issues, some of which Senator Kerry mentioned, or just doing no harm. And we've been able to, far more than ever before, maximize the use of information technology and Government, which is why we now have the smallest Government we've had since 1963. But if you really think about it, we should not be satisfied with where we are. And I'll just give you a few examples.

In education, we finally have test scores turned around, not only in mathematics and science but also in reading, which is really quite an important achievement, since so many of our children do not have English as their first language. But no one seriously believes we have the best system of elementary and secondary education in the world. And we have all this diversity in our country. How can we use technology to lift the level of all education?

I'll give you another example. We have now, as you all probably have seen, I think we have reached the benefit, the limit of the benefits that traditional management can bring in moderating inflation and health care costs. When I became President, health care was rising at 3 times the rate of inflation and people were dropping coverage dramatically. Now, unfortunately, that's continued to happen. But one of the reasons that there's this intense debate in Washington over the Patients' Bill of Rights is that so many people,

including a lot of health care professionals, believe that we have reached the limit which you can get management-related—traditional, management-related savings out of health care without eroding the quality of care.

What can we do to maximize the impact of all the things that we do to make the health care system work better and extend coverage to more people? I'll give you a third example. Someone told me in Silicon Valley one day that people in high tech businesses work 3 to 9 times faster than people in normal businesses do, and Government worked 3 to 9 times slower, and therefore, the marriage was impossible, which I thought is an interesting observation and painfully accurate from time to time.

What can we do, what still is out there that we should be doing that makes Government more responsive, more accessible to people? And then the two that I'm particularly interested in: How can we use technology to bring economic opportunity to people in places that are not part of this recovery in the United States; and how can we use it—or can we use it to help people bridge a whole generation of economic development around the world?

Ron Dozoretz and I have talked a lot about what could be done, for example, for the Indian reservations. We were in Appalachia; we were in the Mississippi Delta—a lot of the places that are still poor are not in inner-city neighborhoods; a lot of places are literally, physically—[inaudible]—from mainstream American economic life. And I'm convinced that if we can't figure out ways to bring opportunity to these places now, we will never get around to it because of the high performance of our economy generally and because it's really an opportunity for investors to go into places where there's a lot of labor, a lot of willing labor, and the cost of doing business is modest.

It seems to me that while what we've done with the empowerment zones, under the leadership of the Vice President, and what I propose that the Congress adopt, which is essentially to give the same set of financial incentives to people who invest in poor areas in America we give them to invest in the Caribbean or Latin America or Africa or Asia,

is a good start. But I think there has got to be, at least for those people that are physically isolated, some thought to how technology can be used to trigger the infusion of economic opportunity and, therefore, the inclusion of those people into the mainstream of American economic life.

And finally, politics, which has already been mentioned by Senator Kerry—it seems to me that there is, on the one hand, this sort of exponential increase in the cost of running campaigns, because we try to—because of the cost of communication. Let's not kid—and if you look at the cost of the campaigns as compared with the size of the Federal budget, for example, it doesn't look like such a big, carrying cost. But it's an enormous burden for people who have to go out and raise the money and spend the money. And basically we're communicating with each other in traditional ways. Most of the costs of the campaign today comes from television and mail, and in some places a lot of money is spent on radio and occasionally, depending on what the communications are, on newspaper advertising. But most of it's TV and mail.

Increasingly, we see these breathtaking stories of people just opening a web page for a given cause and all of a sudden having 200,000, 300,000, 400,000 people within a matter of weeks signing on and going forward. Is there some way to use the Internet to further democratize politics, to energize more people to participate, to energize more people to contribute at modest levels, and to lower the relative cost of reaching voters or increase the relative impact of voter reach?

Because if you think about it—like when we run TV ads, there's a reason that an ad on the Super Bowl costs so much money. And that is that more people are watching it than now watch the evening news on the networks combined because they have so many other options. As the television audiences become more dispersed, I think you will see more sophisticated use of mail to identify, at least, people you think you can reach. And that's good, but is there some way we can use this both to broaden the base of contributors at modest levels but also to increase the relative effectiveness or de-

crease the relative costs of reaching people, so that people feel like they're participating in the democracy and so that more people have a chance to participate in ways that will make all of us feel better about the way we conduct our democracy as we go toward the next century?

So these are things that I think about a lot. And I think, you know, meeting the challenge of the aging of America is a big deal. I think meeting the challenge of education is a big deal.

I'll give you one more example. America's got the lowest crime rate in 26 years. I think that's a very good thing. And it's easy to lose that when we have these gripping, horrible incidents like we had in Atlanta or the horrible thing in Littleton, Colorado. But why shouldn't we be the safest big country in the world? I mean, if we have the most powerful technology base in the world, we can figure out how to solve any other problem. Why can't we think of a way to organize ourselves that would make us the safest big country? Why shouldn't that be—why shouldn't we have a big goal that is—and bring to bear all these things.

Nothing is—I agree with John, I think that 50, 60, 70 years from now, when people look back and write the history of this era, they will conclude that this was a bigger deal than the industrial revolution, that this sort of had the combined impact of the industrial revolution and the printing press, which produced the Gutenberg Bible, and that it was just breathtaking. Now, what we who are living through this ought to do—in addition to those of you who are good enough to profit from it and contribute to our economy and make our society stronger and hire people and do all the good things you're doing—we ought to say, if this is profoundly changing the way we work and the way we live and the way we relate to each other, by definition it ought to be able to be effective in helping us meet society's biggest challenges, including those I outlined tonight.

So I'm very interested in it. I thank you for your presence here. And I am all ears.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:35 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner hosts Senator John F. Kerry and his wife,

Theresa; and Ron Dozoretz, founder, FHC Health Systems.

**Opening Remarks to the National Welfare to Work Forum in Chicago, Illinois**

*August 3, 1999*

Thank you so much. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the warm, wonderful welcome when I came in. Mr. Mayor, thank you for your friendship and your leadership. Chicago is a beautiful, beautiful city, and it works.

I think I should simply begin by thanking the people of this city and this State for being so good to me and to Hillary and to Al and Tipper Gore and to our administration, and for setting an example of what we can do to make America work. I'm also kind of getting used to seeing all these pretty cows all over the place here. *[Laughter]* I was trying to think of what animals I could start putting all over the White House lawn when I get back, to follow the mayor's lead. *[Laughter]*

I would like to say that Governor Ryan and Governor Thompson were here earlier. I thank them for coming by. I thank Governor Carper of Delaware for being here. Mayor Webb, Mayor Helmke, Mayor Morial, Mayor O'Neill. I thank Secretary Herman, our Secretary of Labor; Secretary of Transportation Slater; and Secretary Bill Daley, another native of this great city, for his work at Commerce; and Small Business Administrator Aida Alvarez.

Secretary Shalala, our HHS Secretary, has been heavily involved in this. She's not here today, but I want to thank Olivia Golden and Al Collins for being here. And most of all, I want to thank the leaders of this remarkable business partnership, my good friend Eli Segal, who is the best startup person in the world.

Many of you know this, but when I became President, I asked Eli to head our national service program, AmeriCorps. And we got it through the Congress, and in 4 years, AmeriCorps had 100,000 young people serving in our communities, earning money to go to school, a goal that took the Peace Corps 20 years to reach.

So, I thought, "Well, we need to get more employers involved in hiring people from welfare to work. I'll ask Eli to do it. Then I won't even have to think about it anymore." *[Laughter]* And so Eli got Gerry Greenwald and Paul Clayton, Robert Shapiro, Bill Esrey, and Jim Kelly, and they started—with five. And I said—then there were 5,000. And I said, "But we need 10,000." And now there are 12,000. I think if I told them we needed 25,000, next year we'd have 30,000 employers here. And I thank him so much.

And I want to thank Gerry especially for chairing our efforts. I understand he runs an airline company in his off hours—*[laughter]*—but I think most of the time, he's spent on this project in the last few years.

Six and a half years ago I asked the American people to join me on a crusade to transform our system of welfare into a system of work; to transform a system of dependence into a system of independence; to prove that poor people could succeed, at the same time, at work and in raising their children; to bring a whole generation of Americans into the mainstream of our life.

Now you see the signs of the transformation everywhere: Inner city buses that used to be empty at rush hour are packed; tax preparation services are moving into abandoned storefronts, helping former welfare recipients fill out the first tax forms of their lives. There are more subtle changes: mothers collecting their mail with a little more pride because they know they'll see a bank statement, not a welfare check; children going to school with their heads held a little higher.

It's difficult to remember that, 7 years ago, our country was largely out of work and out of ideas. Our economy was stagnant, burdened with a crushing debt and soaring deficits, high interest rates and high unemployment. But so was our political debate. For some, the welfare system was our last line of defense against abject poverty. To others, it was exhibit A of America's decline.

Clearly, it had become a system that undermined our cherished values of work and family. When I was a Governor, a job I had for a dozen years before you were kind enough to give me this one, I had the chance

to actually go to welfare offices, talk to case-workers, talk to recipients, watch people check in. I spent hours, over a period of years, talking to welfare recipients, asking them, what would it take to make the system work for them, and listening to them tell me all the manifold ways in which welfare discouraged work and independence.

I asked the American people to change course, to restore with all of our people the fundamental bargain that we ought to have opportunity for all in return for responsibility from all our citizens, and to include everyone in America's community.

Today, the bargain is being fulfilled, and our country is working again. We have the longest peacetime expansion in history, nearly 19 million new jobs; the lowest unemployment in a generation; the lowest minority unemployment ever recorded; the highest homeownership in history. From a deficit of \$290 billion, we are moving to a surplus of \$99 billion. And this year alone we will pay \$85 billion on our national debt.

And a big part of this is the decision the American people, through their elected Representatives, made to end welfare as we know it. We raised the minimum wage and passed the earned-income tax credit, which says to working families: If you work full-time, you shouldn't have to raise your children in poverty. We gave 43 waivers to States to launch their own welfare reform efforts when I took office. And then in 1996, as has already been said, a big bipartisan majority, big majorities of both parties and both Houses reached across the divide to pass this welfare reform bill.

We recognize that in addition to requiring able-bodied people to work within a certain period of time, millions of people who had never known anything but dependency, who had never even seen, many of them, their own parents have a job, could not make the transition on their own or easily. So we made sure there was extra support for child care, for transportation, for housing, and we kept the national guarantee—after two vetoes, but we kept the national guarantee of medical care and nutrition for the children of people on welfare and for those moving off.

We also provided new tax incentives to encourage employers to hire people from wel-

fare. Today I am very proud to be able to tell you that all 50 States and the District of Columbia have now met the work requirements for the percentage of people on welfare in their States that have to be in work that we set in 1996. Every single State is in compliance.

The welfare rolls have been cut in half; they're at their lowest level in 32 years. And those who are on welfare today are 4 times as likely to work as when I took office. Now, while some of the credit, doubtless, goes to our booming economy, the Council of Economic Advisers recently did a study for me which found that welfare reform, with its new emphasis on work, has been the single most important factor in reducing the rolls. Three-quarters of the 6.8 million people who have left welfare since I took office did so after welfare reform was signed in 1996. And many who left before did so under the reform efforts adopted by the States.

The credit goes to all of you in this audience and people like you across our country. When we passed the law in '96, I said moving Americans from welfare to work would take the commitment of every element of our society, not just Government but businesses, faith-based organizations, community groups, and private citizens. The Vice President has done a tremendous job of bringing our religious and service organizations together in his coalition to sustain success. And in 1997, as I said, my long-time friend Eli Segal agreed to help to rally the business community and you know the rest. Today, he, Gerry Greenwald, and the other founders have built a partnership that is 12,000 businesses strong.

Members of this welfare to work partnership, businesses both large and small, have given—listen to this—just the members of this partnership have given 410,000 welfare recipients the opportunity to have a job. More than 8 in 10 executives report great success in hiring people off welfare rolls. They're finding these employees are a good investment. They work hard; they stay in their jobs as long or even longer than other employees. And in this era of labor shortages, we must not forget that welfare recipients can be a rich pool of untapped talent, people who are good for the bottom line. I thank



you for recognizing the important role you can play in extending these opportunities to all Americans.

I am proud to say, also under the Vice President's leadership, the Federal Government has done its part. Our goal was to hire 10,000 people by this year from welfare. We have now hired 14,000—in the smallest Federal Government since 1963.

Mr. Mayor, one of the people we hired from welfare is here with us today. Her name is Maria Hernandez. She was on public assistance for more than 3 years; now she's worked as an administrative assistant in our Cook County north census office since January. Thank you, Maria, and thank all the rest of you who are here who reflect the same story. [Applause] Thank you.

Now, before we get on with the program today, I want to tell you that as pleased as we are, we have to do more. And I'd like to mention the things that I believe we have to do to make the most of this economic opportunity for America, to fulfill our moral obligation, to promote the values of work and family to the people still on public assistance and those who teeter going back and forth.

First, we must continue to honor our commitment to welfare reform. There are some in Congress who want to cut the welfare block grants we give to the States and take some of that money back, because the welfare rolls are so low, to finance a big tax cut. I think that would be a mistake, and here's why. Here's why. In every State, there are still people who could move from welfare to work if they had more training, if they had transportation, if they had child care. In every State, there are people who may be working today who might have to leave the work force, for lack of transportation or child care. In every State, there are people who can stay on the job if they get further training.

So I say, let's spend this money to develop the human capacity of our people. It will make the economy stronger, and we will all be better off.

There are other things which need to be done. I have asked the Congress to build on the welfare-to-work program, by helping those who are least prepared to work. My welfare-to-work budget this year contains

extra funds for adult literacy and for education and training for adults. I think that's important.

We must also do more to help low-income fathers honor their responsibility to pay child support to their children. Three years ago, we strengthened our child support enforcement laws. This welfare-to-work budget targets funds to help responsible fathers work and pay child support. I hope Congress will pass it.

Let me say, we also need to make sure that when people move from welfare to work, they understand, if they're in low-income jobs, that their kids are still entitled to Medicaid coverage if their employer doesn't offer health care, and to food stamps, so they'll have adequate nutrition.

The only piece of troubling news in this whole happy scenario is that there has been a drop in use of food stamps among low-income people that is greater than the number of people who have moved into jobs with incomes above that level. No one can find the answer for me, and we've been looking now for weeks and weeks and weeks. But I think, clearly, what has happened is, a lot of people moved from welfare to work; they're delighted to be at work; and they literally don't know that they're still eligible for this assistance. That's what I think is going on. So we have to work on that, and a lot of you here can help.

We also have to strengthen our commitment to child care. For years, mothers on welfare chose not to work because to do so would literally have hurt their children, because it would have cost them more in child care than they could make on the job. In 1996 we added \$4 billion to our child care subsidy, but believe it or not, we have only met one-tenth of the need. So I ask Congress to pass our child care initiative, to provide more child care subsidies and tax credits to needy families and new funds to improve the quality of care. This will also help to sustain welfare reform.

To finish the job, I've asked Congress to double our commitment to transportation assistance to provide 25,000 new welfare-to-work housing vouchers so people can live near their jobs. To finish the job, I have asked Congress to increase the minimum wage, to

make sure, when people work, they are living above the poverty line. And to finish the job, we have to recognize that there are whole communities—big inner-city neighborhoods, places in Appalachia, places in the Mississippi Delta, small towns where the only factory has moved away, Native American reservations—where the light of prosperity has not shined on the whole community.

Last month I traveled across America to shine that spotlight on the inner cities, on the Mississippi Delta, on Appalachia, on the Native American communities. I saw families doing their best to raise children in neighborhoods where unemployment and poverty were more than double the national average. On some of our Indian reservations it is above 70 percent.

I ask your help in passing my new markets initiative, because it will give American investors the same incentives to invest in poor neighborhoods in America we give them today to invest in poor countries around the world. I think it is a very, very good idea.

And finally, I ask you to continue your work. We all know that the people who still are on welfare, by and large, are the most difficult to place in work. We all know that they are the most likely to have children with special needs, or limited levels of education and skills, or to be a long way from an available workplace with no transportation funds. We know there are problems out there, but we also know that there are good people who wish to go to work and ought to have the chance. And so I ask you to stay at this and to recruit some of your vendors and clients, to reach out to small business people you know, to ask others to join this crusade.

I want to say a special word of thanks to IBM for sponsoring a new on-line network that can help match businesses who need workers with welfare recipients who need jobs. And for our part, I want you to know I'm working to extend the welfare-to-work tax credit and the work opportunity tax credit to reward those of you who take the chance on giving more Americans a chance. *[Applause]* Thank you.

The great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy once said that, "work is the true source of human welfare." In this era of unprecedented prosperity, we still have some work of our own

to do to make sure the we embrace all Americans in this prosperity and to give every American the chance to succeed at work and to succeed at home.

I thank every one of you for what you have done, and I ask you to support the initiatives I outlined with the Congress and to stay at the job until we can literally say we have completely ended welfare as we know it, and America is a better place because our families are stronger, our children are growing up in more stable homes, and every adult American who is willing to work has a chance to do so.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. at the Navy Pier Festival Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; Gov. George H. Ryan of Illinois; Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin; Gov. Thomas R. Carper of Delaware; Mayor Wellington E. Webb of Denver, CO; Mayor Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne, IN; Mayor Marc Morial of New Orleans, LA; Mayor Beverly O'Neill of Long Beach, CA; Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services Olivia Golden, Administration for Children and Families; Alvin C. Collins, Director, Office of Family Assistance, Administration for Children and Families; Eli Segal, president and chief executive officer, Welfare to Work Partnership; Gerald Greenwald, chairman and chief executive officer, United Airlines Corp.; Paul Clayton, president, Burger King North America; Robert B. Shapiro, chairman, president, and chief executive officer, Monsanto Co.; William T. Esrey, chairman and chief executive officer, Sprint Corp.; and James P. Kelly, chairman and chief executive officer, United Parcel Service.

### **Closing Remarks to the National Welfare to Work Forum in Chicago**

*August 3, 1999*

I've been asked to announce that as soon as we adjourn this meeting, in this very spot, Rodney will be offering memory training to everyone who would like to stay. *[Laughter]*

I want to thank you for your devotion to this cause. And Jim, thank you for giving us this fine man. I just want to ask you all to think about something. You know, while Rodney was talking to all the people here, I just got to sit here in the middle, and so I could see everybody else. And I would turn

around, and I would look—every time somebody was talking, I would look at every face in the section. And what I saw was that all of us had the natural human response. We were exhilarated by the stories that these people told. We were gratified by the enlightened self-interest of the employers.

I had a funny thing happen to me a couple of weeks ago. We were in an unrelated fight in Washington, and one of the people who took the opposite position from me said, “Oh, the President is always up there telling stories. What have stories got to do with this?” Well, we found out today, didn’t we? I mean, all of our lives are nothing but our stories.

I say this: One of our small business owners said that she was once on public assistance herself. I’m in a line of work where every politician would like you to believe that we were all born in log cabins that we built ourselves. [*Laughter*] But the truth is, none of us who are here today, who have been fortunate in our lives, got here without somebody giving us a helping hand, without opportunity. I always tell everybody, you know, a couple of different bumps in the road, I could still be home doing wills and deeds in Arkansas in some small office. [*Laughter*]

We should recognize that we can pass these programs to empower people, but it takes human beings with real commitment, like the employers we have honored today and all the others in this room and all those like them around this country. And then it takes people with the courage to stand up and say, “I’m going to change my life.”

You know, this was hard for—a lot of these folks, they had to stand up here and give a little speech in front of the President today. That wasn’t easy, right? [*Applause*] They did a good job. But as difficult as it was, it was probably harder for some of them to actually stand up and say, “I’m going to change my life.” That’s harder.

And I’m just telling you, all over this country today there are people just like them who still don’t have the lives they have. And we can reach them, too. And if we do it, America will be a better place. We will be closer to the one America of our dreams when we start this new century. We’ll have a stronger economy.

And again I say, there are legal changes we need to make; there are investment commitments we need to make in Washington. I hope you’ll help us make them. But in the end, it will be the personal marriage of employers and employees that will see us through.

And Rodney, we’ll follow your lead. We’ll follow the lead of our founding companies. But I ask you all to leave here with a renewed sense of energy and commitment and go out and tell other people about what you have seen and what you have participated in and what we can do. And if you do that, we will finish this job. And we’ll hear a lot more of the stories that make our hearts soar.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. at the Navy Pier Festival Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Rodney J. Carroll, forum moderator and division manager, Metro Philadelphia Division, and James P. Kelly, chairman and chief executive officer, United Parcel Service.

## Remarks to Heat Relief Volunteers in Chicago

August 3, 1999

Thank you very much. I want to say, first of all, I came here mostly just to say thank you. Thank you to the volunteers, the firefighters, the police officers, the emergency workers.

I am joined by three members of our Cabinet over here: our Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman, Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater, and Chicago’s own, Secretary of Commerce Bill Daley.

Every time I come to Chicago, I get excited. I tell everybody all across America, you know, this is the way cities ought to work. It’s a well-organized, beautiful, clean, ever-changing, dynamic city, and one that doesn’t run away from its problems but embraces them and tries to work through them. And that is what I want America to be like.

I know this has been a very difficult time. This heat wave has claimed over 190 lives nationwide. It has been very, very tough. And I just wanted to join the mayor in saying

thank you. Normally, you know, when something like this happens, the role of the Federal Government is to declare emergencies, provide help to the farmers or the business people, or extra help to the seniors and others who are vulnerable. And I rarely get an opportunity to go out and see the people who do the work, save the lives, and help people get through the tough times. And so mostly I am here just to tell you, you've done a great job, and I am profoundly grateful. Thank you.

As we can all see, thankfully, the blast-furnace heat has subsided a little bit here in Chicago, and believe it or not, it was a little better in Washington yesterday and today. Over the weekend, it was scorching. But we probably haven't seen the last of the heat for the season. And we know that many low income people in this area and throughout our country are now saddled with energy bills they can't begin to afford. So earlier today I authorized the release of another \$55 million in emergency funding to help them.

The funding will be used in Illinois and eight other States in the Midwest and the South to help people pay for air-conditioning and pay off their high utility bills. About \$16 million will go to the State of Illinois alone. We have now provided \$150 million-plus for cooling assistance this summer across America, and I hope it will be enough.

We know that some of the elderly people who died in this heat wave were people on fixed incomes who were reluctant to turn their air-conditioning on. We know they were afraid they wouldn't be able to pay their bills at the end of the month. So the one news item I would hope would come out of this meeting is that through this announcement the seniors in this area and in any other area that might be hit by this kind of heat wave will know that there is Federal help available. Congress has set aside the money for this purpose. We know that when heat waves like this come along that are virtually unprecedented there will be people who need to be cool who can't afford to pay the bill.

So turn on the air-conditioner, and if you don't have one, send for a fan or a room unit; send for something that will keep you alive. That is the message we want to come out of here. I want your efforts all to be successful, and I hope that that message will go out

across the country today. People should never have to worry in this country about risking their lives because they can't pay their power bills.

Again, let me say, I want to thank you. The executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority, I understand, said recently, there is no substitute for human contact. That's probably a good general rule, but it is certainly true in this case. You have provided that human contact, and the rest of us are very grateful.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:42 p.m. at the Lake Shore Park Pavilion. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; and Phillip Jackson, chief executive officer, Chicago Housing Authority. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

### **Statement on the Death of Willie Morris**

*August 3, 1999*

Hillary and I were greatly saddened to learn of the death of our good friend Willie Morris. When I was a senior in college, I was captivated by his wonderful memoir, "North Toward Home." I had the opportunity to visit New York City and meet him, then the remarkably young editor of Harper's magazine, who had started out in a small Southern town not unlike my own and who never lost his fascination with the human condition. In the 1980's, we became reacquainted, and I have enjoyed his wit, warmth, and wisdom ever since. Willie Morris was not only my friend, he was a national treasure. He had enormous pride in and love for the South, but he also had a passion to right the wrongs of our racial history. He will take his place beside Faulkner and Welty in the pantheon of the South's greatest writers. Our thoughts and prayers go to his wife Joanne, his son David, and his family and friends.

**Remarks on Reduction of the  
National Debt and an Exchange  
With Reporters**

*August 4, 1999*

**The President.** Good afternoon. I've just had a meeting with the members of my economic team, and I'd like to talk a few moments about the course we have decided to chart for the future.

Seven years ago when I ran for President, I said we had to put our fiscal house in order, to start living within our means. Most Americans agreed, but few believed we would do it. Irresponsible policies in Washington had piled deficits upon deficits and quadrupled our national debt in the 12 years before I took office. As a result, interest and unemployment rates were high, and growth was low.

In 1993 Vice President Gore and I took office determined to change our course, to follow a new economic strategy founded on fiscal discipline, investment in our people, and expanded trade. Today the success of that strategy is very much in evidence. We have balanced the budget, turned a deficit of \$290 billion into a surplus of \$99 billion, the largest ever. Since 1993, our economy has produced almost 19 million new jobs, wages and homeownership are high, inflation and unemployment the lowest in a generation.

America has come a long way in the last 7 years, from recession to recovery, from economic disorder to a fiscal house finally in order. We have even begun to pay down our debt. Just this week, our administration announced that the Federal Government will pay down more than \$87 billion this year alone, the largest reduction in our Nation's history. Over the last 2 years, we've paid down over \$142 billion.

The debt held by the public is now \$1.7 trillion—that's \$1.7 trillion—less than it was projected to be when I took office.

Furthermore, I have proposed a balanced budget that would actually eliminate the debt by 2015. By putting first things first, by saving Social Security and strengthening Medicare, our Nation can actually become debt-free for the first time since 1835, when Andrew Jackson was President.

Today the Treasury Department has proposed new steps to further our progress. Secretary Summers discussed them earlier today, but I just want to summarize. These proposals would help us to manage Federal finances in a new era of budget surpluses. They would give the Government the same kind of tools, the same flexibility that families and companies have in managing their finances. They would, in effect, allow us to refinance old debt and pay it down on the best terms possible, saving taxpayers billions of dollars in the process.

If past policies brought a vicious cycle of budget deficits and high interest rates, our new economic strategy drives a virtuous cycle of budget surpluses and low interest rates. We know what paying down the debt means for America's families. It is the equivalent to a tax cut worth hundreds, even thousands of dollars to them in lower interest costs. Smaller debt brings lower interest rates. When interest rates fall, more families can afford a home or a car or a college education for their children; more businesses borrow more to invest, boosting productivity and creating more jobs.

In the past 7 years, we've balanced Washington's books; we've cut its credit card balance. Now let's refinance our Nation's mortgage and then wipe the ledger clean. Paying down the debt creates wealth, creates jobs, creates opportunity. It's the right and responsible thing to do, and we have the chance of a lifetime to do it.

If we're to make the most of this prosperity, we simply have to put first things first. We should maintain our fiscal discipline by investing the bulk of the surplus to pay down the debt, save Social Security, strengthen Medicare and modernize it with a long-term—long overdue prescription drug benefit. We should honor our values by honoring our commitment to educate our children, protect our environment, strengthen our defense, and fight crime. And we should move forward with an economic strategy that is successful and sound, not revert to one that is a proven failure.

On Capitol Hill, Members of the majority have been at work on a tax plan that is risky and plainly wrong for America. Let me repeat what I have said many times: If they

conclude this plan and send it to me, I will have to veto it. I will refuse to sign any plan that signs away our commitment to America's future, to Social Security, to Medicare, to paying down the debt. We can do these things and still have a sensible tax plan, and I remain committed to work with any Members of Congress, from both parties, to achieve that goal.

Thank you.

### **Tax Cut Legislation**

**Q.** Mr. President, do you believe you can reach an agreement with Republicans later in the year on taxes, and is \$300 billion the most you would be willing to allow for a tax cut?

**The President.** Well, I hope we can reach an agreement. And let me suggest that the way to proceed—and I think that the only way we can reach an agreement is if they would do what I have tried to do. I think first they ought to produce their own Medicare plan that lengthens the life of the Trust Fund and provides a modest prescription drug benefit. Then of course, they have to calculate how much more money they want to spend over and above the caps. And they have to figure out what's left, and whether they agree with me that we should pay off the debt.

We could certainly do this. I want all of you to understand, for me this is not a political issue; this is a matter of basic arithmetic. We returned to basic arithmetic in 1993, and it has served us well. Gene Sperling once said that to pass the big tax cut first, without knowing how you're going to meet your responsibilities, is like a family saying, "Let's take the vacation of our dreams, and when we get home, we'll try to decide if we can pay the home mortgage and send the kids to college." I think that the order of this is wrong.

So I think if they would have a very clear idea of what their Medicare proposal would be and what the impact of their proposed increases in expenditures would be, then I think we'd be able to make an agreement. And I'm willing to work for it, and hope we can achieve it.

**Q.** Mr. President, by the time Congress comes back from its recess, it will be a little

more than a year towards the 2000 election. What is to make this—what is to possibly keep this from becoming a political issue, if it isn't already?

**The President.** Every issue in Washington, I suppose, is a political issue. The point I'm trying to make is, if we want to save Social Security and Medicare and pay the debt off, then you have to figure out how much money you have left and how much money the Congress is determined to spend over and above the present budget caps, and you can spend what is left on the tax cut.

But to pass a tax cut first and then say, well, I'm sorry, we can't really save Social Security and we're not going to lengthen the life of the Trust Fund, or, I'm sorry we're not going to lengthen the life of the Medicare Trust Fund a day—neither one a day under their proposal—and we may or may not be able to spend money on education and national defense and, if we do, we'll go back into deficit spending again—I don't think we want to get into that.

So I'm saying—you asked me, can we achieve this? Of course we can. Remember, in 1996, in an election year, we passed welfare reform with overwhelming majorities of both parties in both Houses. And yesterday we celebrated cutting the rolls in half. And 12,000 companies are helping us to hire people off welfare. So we can do this. We can do this.

We were never going to be able to do it, I might add, unless we had big majorities of both parties in both Houses. It is in our interest, if you want to talk about it in that way, to do the people's work here, to do it this year and to do it next year. And I think it's terribly important, so I hope we'll do it.

### **Social Security Reform Plan/Talk Magazine Interview**

**Q.** Mr. President, why haven't you submitted a plan to reform Social Security? And secondly, sir, would you also comment for us on the First Lady's interview with Talk magazine and clarify for us, if you will, what she meant in saying that you were scarred by abuse and that's affected your behavior?

**The President.** Well—what was the first part of that question? [Laughter] I'll answer the second part. What's the first part?

**Q.** The first part was why haven't you submitted a plan to reform Social Security yet.

**The President.** Well, I am working on that, and I have been talking to Chairman Archer about it, and I would be prepared to do that. But keep in mind, that is not what is holding this up, because we both agree on what we have to do with the surplus. That is, we both agree—and let's not lose sight of the fact that we've actually reached one agreement here; we both agreed to keep the Social Security portion of the surplus apart from regular Government spending.

My plan, however, is more detailed than theirs in the sense that I also propose to take the savings that we receive in 5 years of this 15-year period on the debt reduction and put that back into the Trust Fund to lengthen the life to 2053. If Congress wished me to do that and that would help to get this agreement—I've been working very hard on this, and I would be prepared to do that.

Now, let me just say on the other thing, I think anybody who read that article would draw two conclusions. You can draw a thousand conclusions, but I think there are two conclusions that anyone would have to draw, amid all the differences they might have in the way they read the piece. One is that my wife is an extraordinary person with a passionate commitment to public service and a genuine record of important achievement. And the second is that we love each other very, very much. And I think those are the two important things.

Now, I don't believe that anybody could fairly read the article and think that she was making any excuses for me. I haven't made any excuses for what was inexcusable, and neither has she, believe me. And as to my childhood, everybody knows that's looked into it I didn't have a bed of roses as a kid. But I can tell you this, as I think about other children in the world and in our country that have difficulties growing up, I am convinced from my own life and from my research and from my experience with other children, the most important thing is that every child needs to know growing up that he or she is the most important person in the world to someone. And I knew that, so—I knew that. And I have no complaints.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], happy birthday. [Laughter]

**Ms. Thomas.** Thank you. Thank you, Mr. President.

**Q.** Mr. President, the First Lady has indicated that the trauma of this was to the degree that you can't even take it out and look at it anymore. Are you trying to work through the issues and look back over that time of your life?

**The President.** Look, I think that I have said all I need to say about that. I have—I think every reflective person thinks about his or her life, but what I conclude about my childhood is what I said. It had its really tough moments, but I always knew I was well loved. And I think that's important for all of our children.

### **Japanese Economy**

**Q.** Mr. President, are you going to call the Prime Minister of Japan to discuss the fluctuations in the currency market? And how concerned are you that they're more interested in market manipulation and intervention than in stimulating domestic demand-led growth, which Secretary Summers and Secretary Rubin have advocated ad nauseam?

**The President.** The first—Japan, how concerned I am about Japan? I think, first of all, in the last 6½ years, we've seen the currency fluctuations. They go up; they go down. I don't have anything to comment about that.

I think that we do see some signs that Japan's economy is beginning to grow and that Prime Minister Obuchi has formed a coherent and strong and effective government and has secured the necessary support from the Japanese people to continue to move forward.

So we will continue to consult with Japan about what we think is important for their economic recovery, as we should because they're our partners and they're our friends and our allies and their recovery is critical to Asia's recovery. But I basically believe that the trends are positive there, and so I have a positive view.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks,

he referred to Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi of Japan.

### **Statement on Hate Crimes Legislation**

*August 4, 1999*

Two weeks ago I was glad to see the Senate pass S. 622, the important hate crimes legislation I supported with a bipartisan coalition in Congress. But there is much more work to be done. Today the House Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on hate crimes. That is welcome news, but it must lead to the entire House's consideration and passage of strong, effective hate crimes legislation and ultimately to enactment of a hate crimes law.

Effective legislation must accomplish three objectives. First, it must remove serious jurisdictional limitations which require proof that victims were attacked because they were engaging in particular activities. Second, it must expand Federal coverage for violent hate crimes based on sexual orientation, gender, or disability. There is no question that innocent people have been targeted and attacked and in some cases even killed solely because of their sexual orientation, gender, or disability. Such hate crimes must be covered by any legislation passed by the Congress. Third, it must recognize that State and local authorities should continue to prosecute the great majority of hate crimes and that Federal jurisdiction should be exercised only when it is necessary to achieve justice in a particular case. Any bill that does not include these three elements falls far short of what America needs in our battle against hate.

No American should have to suffer the violence of a hate crime. Unfortunately, many do, and therefore we must work together to ensure that all Americans receive greater protection. This should not be a partisan issue. It is a national concern requiring a national response in the form of strong hate crimes legislation. I call on the House of Representatives to meet its responsibility in combating violence that is fueled by hate and to complete what the Senate has begun. If we work together, we have it within our grasp to enact a bill that will take a very strong

stand against those who perpetrate crimes based on prejudice and hate. We must not let this opportunity pass us by.

### **Statement on the Selection of the New Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

*August 4, 1999*

I am very pleased that our NATO Alliance has selected British Defense Secretary George Robertson to be NATO's next Secretary General.

George Robertson is an extremely talented and dedicated public servant. He has made a tremendous contribution to the United Kingdom's effort to modernize its military forces. He displayed extraordinary leadership during the Kosovo conflict and has continued to lead in the effort to restore stability there. I look forward to working with him as he guides NATO into the new century.

Secretary General Solana has done a superb job, steering NATO through conflict in the Balkans, ushering in three new members of the Alliance, reaching out to our security partners across Europe, and meeting other vital challenges. I look forward to continuing to work with him in his new role at the European Union.

### **Memorandum on the Year 2000 Computer Problem**

*August 4, 1999*

*Memorandum for Members of the Cabinet*

*Subject: Year 2000 Computer Problem*

The end of 1999 is less than 6 months away. Federal agencies have made significant progress in meeting the challenges posed by the Year 2000 (Y2K) computer problem since the Vice President and I discussed this issue at the Cabinet meeting in January 1998. Virtually all of the major Federal agencies have completed, or will soon complete, work on their mission-critical systems, and agencies are working aggressively to encourage compliance among their organizational partners for the delivery of key Federal services.



Our efforts to solve the Y2K problem provide an important example of the Government's ability to respond to difficult management challenges, and I appreciate your commitment to this critical issue. However, your ongoing support through 1999 is essential to the Nation's ability to achieve the ultimate goal of minimizing Y2K-related failures in the public and private sectors.

You should continue your outreach efforts to organizations domestically and internationally. We must encourage compliance efforts among our partners, such as State and local governments helping to deliver Federal services and private sector organizations supporting the Nation's critical infrastructure. Internationally, the continued exchanges of technical information with other governments about Y2K experiences will help to limit potential Y2K problems in our trading relationships.

You also should maintain your focus on contingency and back-up plans. While many systems and processes have been tested multiple times, being prepared with alternate operating plans provides an important extra layer of insurance against unexpected difficulties and will enhance our ability to respond to any challenges associated with the date change.

I also encourage you to continue to work closely with my Council on Year 2000 Conversion, and with each other, as we approach January 1, 2000. If we continue our hard work on this important issue, I am confident that we will be able to oversee a successful transition to the new millennium.

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 5.

### **Executive Order 13132—Federalism** *August 4, 1999*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to guarantee the division of governmental responsibilities between the national government and the States that was intended by the Framers of the Constitution, to ensure that the principles of federalism established

by the Framers guide the executive departments and agencies in the formulation and implementation of policies, and to further the policies of the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1. Definitions.** For purposes of this order:

(a) "Policies that have federalism implications" refers to regulations, legislative comments or proposed legislation, and other policy statements or actions that have substantial direct effects on the States, on the relationship between the national government and the States, or on the distribution of power and responsibilities among the various levels of government.

(b) "State" or "States" refer to the States of the United States of America, individually or collectively, and, where relevant, to State governments, including units of local government and other political subdivisions established by the States.

(c) "Agency" means any authority of the United States that is an "agency" under 44 U.S.C. 3502(1), other than those considered to be independent regulatory agencies, as defined in 44 U.S.C. 3502(5).

(d) "State and local officials" means elected officials of State and local governments or their representative national organizations.

**Sec. 2. Fundamental Federalism Principles.** In formulating and implementing policies that have federalism implications, agencies shall be guided by the following fundamental federalism principles:

(a) Federalism is rooted in the belief that issues that are not national in scope or significance are most appropriately addressed by the level of government closest to the people.

(b) The people of the States created the national government and delegated to it enumerated governmental powers. All other sovereign powers, save those expressly prohibited the States by the Constitution, are reserved to the States or to the people.

(c) The constitutional relationship among sovereign governments, State and national, is inherent in the very structure of the Constitution and is formalized in and protected by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.

(d) The people of the States are free, subject only to restrictions in the Constitution

itself or in constitutionally authorized Acts of Congress, to define the moral, political, and legal character of their lives.

(e) The Framers recognized that the States possess unique authorities, qualities, and abilities to meet the needs of the people and should function as laboratories of democracy.

(f) The nature of our constitutional system encourages a healthy diversity in the public policies adopted by the people of the several States according to their own conditions, needs, and desires. In the search for enlightened public policy, individual States and communities are free to experiment with a variety of approaches to public issues. One-size-fits-all approaches to public policy problems can inhibit the creation of effective solutions to those problems.

(g) Acts of the national government—whether legislative, executive, or judicial in nature—that exceed the enumerated powers of that government under the Constitution violate the principle of federalism established by the Framers.

(h) Policies of the national government should recognize the responsibility of—and should encourage opportunities for—individuals, families, neighborhoods, local governments, and private associations to achieve their personal, social, and economic objectives through cooperative effort.

(i) The national government should be deferential to the States when taking action that affects the policymaking discretion of the States and should act only with the greatest caution where State or local governments have identified uncertainties regarding the constitutional or statutory authority of the national government.

**Sec. 3. Federalism Policymaking Criteria.** In addition to adhering to the fundamental federalism principles set forth in section 2, agencies shall adhere, to the extent permitted by law, to the following criteria when formulating and implementing policies that have federalism implications;

(a) There shall be strict adherence to constitutional principles. Agencies shall closely examine the constitutional and statutory authority supporting any action that would limit the policymaking discretion of the States and shall carefully assess the necessity for such action. To the extent practicable, State and

local officials shall be consulted before any such action is implemented. Executive Order 12372 of July 14, 1982 (“Intergovernmental Review of Federal Programs”) remains in effect for the programs and activities to which it is applicable.

(b) National action limiting the policymaking discretion of the States shall be taken only where there is constitutional and statutory authority for the action and the national activity is appropriate in light of the presence of a problem of national significance. Where there are significant uncertainties as to whether national action is authorized or appropriate, agencies shall consult with appropriate State and local officials to determine whether Federal objectives can be attained by other means.

(c) With respect to Federal statutes and regulations administered by the States, the national government shall grant the States the maximum administrative discretion possible. Intrusive Federal oversight of State administration is neither necessary nor desirable.

(d) When undertaking to formulate and implement policies that have federalism implications, agencies shall:

(1) encourage States to develop their own policies to achieve program objectives and to work with appropriate officials in other States;

(2) where possible, defer to the States to establish standards;

(3) in determining whether to establish uniform national standards, consult with appropriate State and local officials as to the need for national standards and any alternatives that would limit the scope of national standards or otherwise preserve State prerogatives and authority; and

(4) where national standards are required by Federal statutes, consult with appropriate State and local officials in developing those standards.

**Sec. 4. Special Requirements for Preemption.** Agencies, in taking action that preempts State law, shall act in strict accordance with governing law.

(a) Agencies shall construe, in regulations and otherwise, a Federal statute to preempt State law only where the statute contains an

express preemption provision or there is some other clear evidence that the Congress intended preemption of State law, or where the exercise of State authority conflicts with the exercise of Federal authority under the Federal statute.

(b) Where a Federal statute does not preempt State law (as addressed in subsection (a) of this section), agencies shall construe any authorization in the statute for the issuance of regulations as authorizing preemption of State law by rulemaking only when the exercise of State authority directly conflicts with the exercise of Federal authority under the Federal statute or there is clear evidence to conclude that the Congress intended the agency to have the authority to preempt State law.

(c) Any regulatory preemption of State law shall be restricted to the minimum level necessary to achieve the objectives of the statute pursuant to which the regulations are promulgated.

(d) When an agency foresees the possibility of a conflict between State law and Federally protected interests within its area of regulatory responsibility, the agency shall consult, to the extent practicable, with appropriate State and local officials in an effort to avoid such a conflict.

(e) When an agency proposes to act through adjudication or rulemaking to preempt State law, the agency shall provide all affected State and local officials notice and an opportunity for appropriate participation in the proceedings.

**Sec. 5. Special Requirements for Legislative Proposals.** Agencies shall not submit to the Congress legislation that would:

(a) directly regulate the States in ways that would either interfere with functions essential to the States' separate and independent existence or be inconsistent with the fundamental federalism principles in section 2;

(b) attach to Federal grants conditions that are not reasonably related to the purpose of the grant; or

(c) preempt State law, unless preemption is consistent with the fundamental federalism principles set forth in section 2, and unless a clearly legitimate national purpose, consistent with the federalism policymaking criteria

set forth in section 3, cannot otherwise be met.

**Sec. 6. Consultation.**

(a) Each agency shall have an accountable process to ensure meaningful and timely input by State and local officials in the development of regulatory policies that have federalism implications. Within 90 days after the effective date of this order, the head of each agency shall designate an official with principal responsibility for the agency's implementation of this order and that designated official shall submit to the Office of Management and Budget a description of the agency's consultation process.

(b) To the extent practicable and permitted by law, no agency shall promulgate any regulation that has federalism implications, that imposes substantial direct compliance costs on State and local governments, and that is not required by statute, unless:

- (1) funds necessary to pay the direct costs incurred by the State and local governments in complying with the regulation are provided by the Federal Government; or
- (2) the agency, prior to the formal promulgation of the regulation,

(A) consulted with State and local officials early in the process of developing the proposed regulation;

(B) in a separately identified portion of the preamble to the regulation as it is to be issued in the *Federal Register*, provides to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget a federalism summary impact statement, which consists of a description of the extent of the agency's prior consultation with State and local officials, a summary of the nature of their concerns and the agency's position supporting the need to issue the regulation, and a statement of the extent to which the concerns of State and local officials have been met; and

(C) makes available to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget any written communications submitted to the agency by State and local officials.

(c) To the extent practicable and permitted by law, no agency shall promulgate any regulation that has federalism implications and that preempts State law, unless the agency, prior to the formal promulgation of the regulation.

(1) consulted with State and local officials early in the process of developing the proposal regulation;

(2) in a separately identified portion of the preamble to the regulation as it is to be issued in the *Federal Register*, provides to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget a federalism summary impact statement, which consists of a description of the extent of the agency's prior consultation with State and local officials, a summary of the nature of their concerns and the agency's position supporting the need to issue the regulation, and a statement of the extent to which the concerns of State and local officials have been met; and

(3) makes available to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget any written communications submitted to the agency by State and local officials.

**Sec. 7. Increasing Flexibility for State and Local Waivers.**

(a) Agencies shall review the processes under which State and local governments apply for waivers of statutory and regulatory requirements and take appropriate steps to streamline those processes.

(b) Each agency shall, to the extent practicable and permitted by law, consider any application by a State for a waiver of statutory or regulatory requirements in connection with any program administered by that agency with a general view toward increasing opportunities for utilizing flexible policy approaches at the State or local level in cases in which the proposed waiver is consistent with applicable Federal policy objectives and is otherwise appropriate.

(c) Each agency shall, to the extent practicable and permitted by law, render a decision upon a complete application for a waiver within 120 days of receipt of such application by the agency. If the application for a waiver is not granted, the agency shall provide the applicant with timely written notice of the decision and the reasons therefor.

(d) This section applies only to statutory or regulatory requirements that are discretionary and subject to waiver by the agency.

**Sec. 8. Accountability.**

(a) In transmitting any draft final regulation that has federalism implications to the Office of Management and Budget pursuant to Executive Order 12866 of September 30, 1993, each agency shall include a certification from the official designated to ensure compliance with this order stating that the requirements of this order have been met in a meaningful and timely manner.

(b) In transmitting proposed legislation that has federalism implications to the Office of Management and Budget, each agency shall include a certification from the official designated to ensure compliance with this order that all relevant requirements of this order have been met.

(c) Within 180 days after the effective date of this order, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs shall confer with State and local officials to ensure that this order is being properly and effectively implemented.

**Sec. 9. Independent Agencies.** Independent regulatory agencies are encouraged to comply with the provisions of this order.

**Sec. 10. General Provisions.**

(a) This order shall supplement but not supersede the requirements contained in Executive Order 12372 ("Intergovernmental Review of Federal Programs"), Executive Order 12866 ("Regulatory Planning and Review"), Executive Order 12988 ("Civil Justice Reform"), and OMB Circular A-19.

(b) Executive Order 12612 ("Federalism"), Executive Order 12875 ("Enhancing the Intergovernmental Partnership"), Executive Order 13083 ("Federalism"), and Executive Order 13095 ("Suspension of Executive Order 13083") are revoked.

(c) This order shall be effective 90 days after the date of this order.

**Sec. 11. Judicial Review.** This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch, and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by

a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 4, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., August 9, 1999]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 5, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on August 10.

### **Statement on the Executive Order on Federalism**

*August 5, 1999*

As a former Governor, I know how important it is for the American people that the Federal Government and State and local governments work together as partners. The Executive order on federalism I signed will strengthen our partnership with State and local governments and ensure that executive branch agencies are able to do their work on behalf of the American people. I want to thank the representatives of State and local governments who worked with my administration in developing an Executive order that enables us to better serve all of the American people.

### **Remarks at a Democratic Unity Event**

*August 5, 1999*

Thank you so much. First, let me thank Senator Daschle and Leader Gephardt for their outstanding, passionate eloquence today and their consistent leadership for the best interests of all the American people. And I think that all of us on this stage feel that way. And I just wish every American could know them as we do, could see how hard they've worked, how consistently they've worked, and how steadfast they have been. Nothing that I have been able to achieve as President would have been possible without their leadership and without the men and women on this platform today. And I thank them so much.

They have already spoken about what we need to do. What I want to say to you is that I want to echo something Mr. Gephardt said. We are here united as a party, but we want to work with the members of the Republican caucus to do things that are good for America.

Let's remember that in the past years, when we have done that, we have been successful. Last year, in the teeth of the election process, they eventually did join us to put a downpayment on hiring 100,000 teachers, to do more to clean up toxic waste, to increase our investments in science and technology, to set aside a part of the surplus for Social Security, which they have continued to agree to do. And we made real progress with our agenda, even though we weren't the majority party.

Now, what was the result? Because we made real progress and because, in 1998, we said, "Here's our future agenda: Save Social Security; keep the economy going; pass a Patients' Bill of Rights; continue to invest in our children's education," the public responded. And we moved closer to being a majority in that historic election in 1998. And now, thanks to Mr. Forbes, we're quite a bit closer still, and I want to thank him.

I would like to use him to illustrate the point I really wish to make today about our position. We are held together by unity of conviction, and we don't agree on everything. You ought to hear some of the arguments these folks have among each other. You don't have to agree on everything to be a member of our party, but we have certain core commitments.

I have letters in my files that Mike Forbes wrote me when he was a member of the Republican caucus about the importance of our education agenda to the children that he represented. And I have numerous accounts of his passionate commitment to a Patients' Bill of Rights and how frustrated he was with over 200 organizations, all the doctors, all the nurses' groups, all the consumer groups pleading for the protections of people in HMO's to be able to see a specialist and go to the nearest emergency room and keep their doctor during treatment and enforce those rights—how frustrated he was that the leaders of his party would not permit that

sort of bill to become law. So we are united by what we believe is best for the vast mass of the American people.

And I think it is important to remember that that is the source of our strength. In 1776 Thomas Paine said, "It is not in numbers but in unity that our greatest strength lies." But our unity must be rooted in conviction. We think we ought to keep the commitments we made in 1998 to modernize 6,000 schools and put teachers out there, 100,000 of them, so the class sizes will be small in the early grades. We think we ought to have that strong, enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights. We think we ought to reform campaign finance, and we think we ought to raise the minimum wage for the people who are out there working who should not be in poverty because they're willing to go to work.

We believe that we ought to make commonsense efforts to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children, and we have lots of evidence that we have work to do. So I urge the conferees in both parties to stay here during the recess and do whatever is necessary to get us a good juvenile justice bill to protect our children.

And we believe it's right to stay with the economic strategy of fiscal discipline and investment in our people that we started in 1993. You know, we Democrats have a lot of fun reading those quotes that Dick and Tom read about what the Republicans said about our economic plan in '93. But, to be fair to them, at the time they could argue that it wouldn't work. It violated all of their sort of ideological inclinations, and they could argue.

But now there is no argument. And that's why this discussion we're having is so important. We don't have to debate this anymore. Now we have 6½ years of evidence. We have the longest peacetime expansion in history. We turned the biggest deficit into the biggest surplus. We've got 19 million new jobs, the highest homeownership in history, the lowest minority unemployment in history, a 30-year low in the welfare rolls. There is nothing more to argue about. This economic strategy works, and we should not abandon it in this moment. *[Applause]* Thank you.

You know, this is a moment of testing for the generation of leaders represented on this

platform, and those in the other party as well. I think generations, as well as individuals, have certain moments in their life where they can make a decision that will have profound consequences that go far beyond the moment. And this is such a moment.

A lot of you who are here were in the World War II generation. I had the great honor to go to Normandy, to represent the United States at the 50th anniversary of D-day, and say, when they were young this generation saved the world. Well, there have been a lot of disparaging remarks made about the baby boom generation over the last 30 years, how we were self-indulgent, and all the things you've heard. Well, we are about to be tested, because we have the opportunity of a lifetime.

If I'd come to you 7 years ago and I said, "Vote for me, and vote for them; 7 years later we'll come back, and we'll talk about how to spend the surplus"—*[laughter]*—after the debt of this country had been quadrupled in 12 years—just think about it—I'd be home doing deeds and things in a law office in Arkansas. If I had run on that platform, "Vote for me; 7 years from now, we'll come back and talk about how to spend the surplus," you'd say, "You know, he seems like a nice young fellow, but he's totally out of touch." *[Laughter]*

But here we are. Why? Because these people said, "We are not going to let America go down the drain. We're going to stop this deficit spending. We're going to get interest rates down. We're going to get the economy going again. And we're going to do it in a way that does not require us to walk away from our obligations to our seniors, to our children, to the environment, to the defense. We can do it." And we have done it.

Now we have, perhaps, an even bigger test. You know, when times are tough, sometimes people don't have many options, so they just take a deep breath and go on and do the hard thing. When times are easy, we are vulnerable to making our biggest mistakes. And that is what this decision before us is about. Now we have this projected surplus, about two-thirds of it coming from Social Security taxes, about a third of it coming from the other revenues paid by the American people. What are we going to do with

it? What we do with it will determine the shape of America for decades to come. What we say is, "Deal with the big challenges first; deal with the aging of America; save Social Security; save Medicare; add a prescription drug benefit; add the preventive tests; and get America out of debt for the first time since 1835, so our children can have a good economy, too."

Now, what they have said is, "Let's pass this big tax cut first; make everybody happy tomorrow; and then we'll talk about these long-term challenges." And normally, that's better politics. Normally, that's better politics. Everybody knows we've got a surplus; let's give a lot of it back. The distributional problems are enormous, as Senator Daschle pointed out. But that's what they say.

Here's the problem. There will be twice as many people over 65, 30 years from now, as there are today. The Medicare Trust Fund goes broke in 2015; Social Security Trust Fund runs out of money in 2034. Now, those of us who have lived a little know that 15 years passes in the flash of an eye. I was talking to somebody yesterday about something I did 15 years ago—seemed like it was yesterday. And we are the stewards of this country's future. We must respond to that. We cannot let this opportunity go. This is a chance of a lifetime. We've got to take care of Medicare now. We've got to extend the life of the Social Security Trust Fund now.

You all know, also, that Medicare benefits have not kept up with medical science. Today there are preventive tests that can catch diseases like cancer, heart disease, osteoporosis early and save lives and keep people healthy. Medicare will pay for you if you get cancer, osteoporosis, or heart disease and go to the hospital. But we don't pay for these preventive tests that will save huge amounts of money but, more importantly, save lives and save the quality of life and make the later years better. So we say, "Let's do something to make it more accessible for people. We want more people to take these preventive tests."

Every day, millions of seniors pull out their plastic pillboxes, each pill with today's ration of medicine, don't they—medication today that was unknown 35 years ago when Medicare was created, that keeps you healthy, that

keeps you out of the hospital, that lengthens life and improves the quality of life. But today, three out of four of our seniors lack dependable, affordable prescription drug coverage. And the percentage with good coverage goes down as the price of the prescription drug goes up. Medigap coverage, for example, gets more expensive for people as they get older and have less money to spend on it.

So I say we have a chance now, because of our economic good fortune and our surplus, to extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund, to provide a modest prescription drug benefit so that we can keep more people healthy and out of the hospital and improving their quality of life, and to make much more aggressive use of these preventive tests. And we ought to do it. The drug benefit is totally voluntary. It is affordable, and it will help a lot of people.

Now, rather than respond to the Medicare plan, I was hoping that the Republicans in Congress would say, "Well, Mr. President, this is your plan. This is our plan. There are differences. Let's work it out." Rather than do that, they said, "Before we spend a penny to extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund, we want to pass this tax cut that's so big, so bloated, and so weighted towards special interest and upper-income people that there won't be any money to extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund"—not a penny to extend it a year under their plan.

Now, they've decided to vote on this plan today, but for some reason they don't want to send it to my desk. *[Laughter]* Now, I say again, we should not be doing this until we figure out how we're going to save Medicare, save Social Security, and pay the debt off. We ought to figure out, what is it we have to spend to educate these kids here; to provide for the national defense; to invest in medical research; to do the basic things. Then we ought to ask ourselves, how much is left? And whatever it is, we ought to give it back to the American people in a tax cut. That's the way we ought to do it.

Next month, the Senate Finance Committee has promised to take up Medicare. And I hope they do. I hope that they will give me their idea of a plan that will extend the life of the Trust Fund and deal with the

challenge of prescription medicine and preventive tests and say how they're going to pay for it.

But you know—let me just say what's going on here. On the one hand, the Congress passes large tax cuts. On the other hand, they say they want to spend more money—for veterans, to deal with problems that a lot of our teaching hospitals are having with Medicare, to deal with the legitimate problems that our farmers are having—which is not just a one-year thing, it needs to be dealt with on a longer-term basis—but they want to have this big tax cut.

Their plan does nothing to extend the life of the Social Security Trust Fund, nothing to extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund. It will not pay off the debt. And if we do both things, one of two things is going to happen: We're going to do nothing about Medicare; we're not going to pay off the debt; we're going to have huge cuts in the things they say they're spending more money on—or we're going to totally erode this surplus; and we're going to squander the opportunity of a generation.

One of the young men who works for me said the other day that their approach is sort of like a family that sits down at dinner tonight, around the table and says, you know, "Let's take the vacation of our lifetime. Let's blow it out. Let's take the vacation of our dreams, and when we get home, we'll figure out whether we can make the mortgage payment and send the kids to college." [*Laughter*]

Now, you wouldn't do it. You didn't do it. And we shouldn't do it. So I will say again, this is a remarkable moment in history. We can't take advantage of it if we don't work with the Republicans. They have to work with us. We are here to say, "We can't support this tax plan because it squanders the opportunity of a lifetime, but we have worked with you before, and we will again."

President Johnson, who signed Medicare, said, "There are no problems we cannot solve together and few we can solve by ourselves." We need an American solution here. But we say, "First things first; meet the challenge of the aging of America; save Social Security; save Medicare; add that prescription drug benefit; meet the challenge of our children's

generation by getting us out of debt for the first time since 1835, so we'll have low interest rates, high investment, more jobs, and people will be able to afford to live better; invest in our education, do the things that we have to do. Figure out what it costs and then give the rest of it back to the American people. But do first things first."

We will be judged, 20, 30, 50 years from now by whether we use this historic opportunity to think of the twilight years of Americans, to think of the morning years of Americans, to think of how we can bring our country together. It is the opportunity of a lifetime, and we, those of us on this stage, intend to use it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. in the Russell Caucus Room at the Russell Senate Office Building.

### **Statement on Senate Confirmation of Richard C. Holbrooke as U.S. Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations**

*August 5, 1999*

I am deeply gratified that the Senate has approved Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke's nomination to be the U.S. Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I am grateful to Ambassador Holbrooke for his commitment to public service and especially for his willingness to persevere through the confirmation process.

Vice President Gore, Secretary Albright, and I welcome him back to our foreign policy team. With the U.N. facing significant challenges in Kosovo, Iraq, Africa, and elsewhere, Ambassador Holbrooke is the right person to lead our efforts at the U.N. He will play a key role in working with the Congress to meet our obligations and to secure needed reforms at the United Nations.

Since he joined the Foreign Service 37 years ago, Ambassador Holbrooke has served our Nation with distinction in Asia, Africa, and Europe. I am confident that he will represent the United States with dedication.



### **Statement on Action on Steel Imports**

*August 5, 1999*

Many steelworkers and communities are experiencing continuing hardship as a result of last year's sharp rise in steel imports. I am determined to continue taking forceful action to address the unfair trade practices that have contributed significantly to this crisis. But from the start, we have maintained that we must do it the right way. We must ensure that our actions are consistent with our commitment to open markets and respect for international trade rules, just as we insist that other countries do the same. My administration has executed a strategy of vigorous, timely enforcement of our trade laws and direct high-level engagement with major steel exporting nations. These actions have cut imports to pre-crisis levels.

Now we must ensure that imports remain at pre-crisis levels and give the industry a chance to regain its competitiveness—even as we put in place measures to prevent any recurrence. Today I am releasing a Steel Action Plan containing a number of measures to identify and address factors that pose continuing risks for the health and vitality of U.S. steel communities and companies and the U.S. economy. These include a systematic analysis of foreign subsidies and market-distorting trade barriers for steel and steel inputs, an international conference on unfair practices that support economically unjustifiable production capacity, bilateral discussions with key steel exporters to ensure that they play by the rules of fair trade and eliminate market-distorting subsidies, working with the international financial institutions to eliminate subsidies for steel production, enhancing our ability to detect incipient import surges before they happen, and strengthened enforcement of our trade laws.

I will continue to work with steelworkers, the steel industry, and Members of Congress to attack unfair trade practices around the world.

### **Statement on Legislation To Advance the New Markets Initiative**

*August 5, 1999*

Not long ago, I invited CEO's and other business leaders to join me in visiting new markets across the country to highlight economic opportunities and to emphasize the need for greater investment in underserved rural and inner-city areas. I am pleased to announce that today, bipartisan legislation based upon my new markets initiative is being introduced in both the House and the Senate. This legislation expands upon the innovative approach to community empowerment that Vice President Gore and I have pioneered for nearly 7 years.

We need to provide the same encouragement to invest in Appalachia, Native American reservations, the Mississippi Delta, and the inner cities that we provide today to invest in new markets overseas. Through new tax incentives and investment tools, this legislation will help to attract equity capital that entrepreneurs and businesses need to start and expand enterprises and create new jobs in low and moderate income communities. These tools will help corporate America to develop new markets in places where major corporations have rarely, if ever, looked before. It's good for business, it's good for America's growth, and it's the right thing to do.

I am encouraged by the bipartisan support for the new markets initiative, as demonstrated by the lead sponsorship of this legislation by both Democrats and Republicans. We will continue to work with Congress to pass this new markets legislation into law. At a time of remarkable economic prosperity, we need to ensure that no community or person is left behind.

### **Statement on Patients' Bill of Rights Legislation**

*August 5, 1999*

With today's announcement led by Drs. Ganske and Norwood and Congressman

Dingell, it is clear that there is now a bipartisan majority of House Members ready to vote for a strong and enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights. Unlike the partisan Senate-passed bill, this bipartisan initiative is a Patients' Bill of Rights not just in name but in reality. It provides meaningful patient protections to all Americans in all health plans, and it holds plans accountable when their actions cause harm to patients.

Today's action proves that patient protections need not and should not be a partisan issue. It is time to do what this bipartisan coalition has done—put the well-being of patients before politics and special interests. I call on Speaker Hastert to schedule a vote on this long-overdue legislation immediately upon return from the congressional recess in September.

### **Statement on Juvenile Crime Legislation**

*August 5, 1999*

Months after the tragedy at Columbine—and the day before they are set to recess—Congress will finally begin the conference on juvenile crime legislation. Let's show our children that when it comes to their safety, Washington will not take a break. I urge the conferees to stay in Washington and finish work on the bill during the August recess. This is a vital opportunity to take common-sense steps to keep guns out of the wrong hands, prevent youth violence, and steer young people away from crime. They should send me a balanced and bipartisan juvenile crime bill—with the Senate-passed gun provisions—so we can give our Nation's parents more peace of mind as our children return to school.

### **Statement on Intention To Veto the Republican Tax Plan**

*August 5, 1999*

Whether the Republican tax plan is sent to me today, tomorrow, next week, or next month, I will have no choice but to veto it immediately. It threatens Social Security and Medicare, makes it harder to pay off the

debt, and imperils the prosperity that has brought real benefits to American families.

### **Executive Order 13133—Working Group on Unlawful Conduct on the Internet**

*August 5, 1999*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to address unlawful conduct that involves the use of the Internet, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1. Establishment and Purpose.** (a) There is hereby established a working group to address unlawful conduct that involves the use of the Internet ("Working Group"). The purpose of the Working Group shall be to prepare a report and recommendations concerning:

- (1) The extent to which existing Federal laws provide a sufficient basis for effective investigation and prosecution of unlawful conduct that involves the use of the Internet, such as the illegal sale of guns, explosives, controlled substances, and prescription drugs, as well as fraud and child pornography.
- (2) The extent to which new technology tools, capabilities, or legal authorities may be required for effective investigation and prosecution of unlawful conduct that involves the use of the Internet; and
- (3) The potential for new or existing tools and capabilities to educate and empower parents, teachers, and others to prevent or to minimize the risks from unlawful conduct that involves the use of the Internet.

(b) The Working Group shall undertake this review in the context of current Administration Internet policy, which includes support for industry self-regulation where possible, technology-neutral laws and regulations, and an appreciation of the Internet as an important medium both domestically and internationally for commerce and free speech.

**Sec. 2. Schedule.** The Working Group shall complete its work to the greatest extent

possible and present its report and recommendations to the President and Vice President within 120 days of the date of this order. Prior to such presentation, the report and recommendations shall be circulated through the Office of Management and Budget for review and comment by all appropriate Federal agencies.

**Sec. 3. Membership.**

(a) The Working Group shall be composed of the following members:

- (1) The Attorney General (who shall serve as Chair of the Working Group).
- (2) The Director of the Office of Management and Budget.
- (3) The Secretary of the Treasury.
- (4) The Secretary of Commerce.
- (5) The Secretary of Education.
- (6) The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- (7) The Director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.
- (8) The Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration.
- (9) The Chair of the Federal Trade Commission.
- (10) The Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration; and
- (11) Other Federal officials deemed appropriate by the Chair of the Working Group.

(b) The co-chairs of the Interagency Working Group on Electronic Commerce shall serve as liaison to and attend meetings of the Working Group. Members of the Working Group may serve on the Working Group through designees.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 5, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
8:45 a.m., August 10, 1999]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 6, and it will be published in the *Federal Register* on August 11.

**Message to the Senate Transmitting  
the Convention on the Prohibition  
and Elimination of the Worst Forms  
of Child Labor With Documentation**  
*August 5, 1999*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification of the Convention (No. 182) Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, adopted by the International Labor Conference at its 87th Session in Geneva on June 17, 1999, I transmit herewith a certified copy of that Convention. I transmit also for the Senate's information a certified copy of a recommendation (No. 190) on the same subject, adopted by the International Labor Conference on the same date, which amplifies some of the Convention's provisions. No action is called for on the recommendation.

The report of the Department of State, with a letter from the Secretary of Labor, concerning the Convention is enclosed.

As explained more fully in the enclosed letter from the Secretary of Labor, current United States law and practice satisfy the requirements of Convention No. 182. Ratification of this Convention, therefore, should not require the United States to alter in any way its law or practice in this field.

In the interest of clarifying the domestic application of the Convention, my Administration proposes that two understandings accompany U.S. ratification.

The proposed understandings are as follows:

The United States understands that Article 3(d) of Convention 182 does not encompass situations in which children are employed by a parent or by a person standing in the place of a parent on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person.

The United States understands the term "basic education" in Article 7 of Convention 182 means primary education plus one year: eight or nine years of schooling, based on curriculum and not age.

These understandings would have no effect on our international obligations under Convention No. 182.

Convention No. 182 represents a true breakthrough for the children of the world. Ratification of this instrument will enhance the ability of the United States to provide global leadership in the effort to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. I recommend that the Senate give its advice and consent to the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 5, 1999.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 6.

### **Statement on the Convention on the Prohibition and Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor**

*August 6, 1999*

Yesterday, I sent to the United States Senate for advice and consent to ratification International Labor Organization Convention Number 182, the "Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor."

Around the world, tens of millions of children are deprived of their childhood and subjected to the worst forms of child labor—slavery; forced or compulsory labor, including forced recruitment for use in armed conflict; prostitution; pornography; use for illicit activities; and other forms of harmful and unsafe work. Education, not hard labor, is ultimately the path to a better life for families and a stronger economy in the countries affected. But too often, very young children are denied an education and forced into abusive and exploitative work that poses immediate risks of harm and can also perpetuate the cycle of poverty.

Convention Number 182 was adopted unanimously by all the government, labor, and business delegates to the ILO Conference at its 87th session in Geneva on June 17, 1999. The convention will establish a widely recognized international standard for

the protection of children against the worst forms of child labor. During my visit to the ILO Conference in June, I urged other nations to ratify the convention. The United States should do so as well.

Under the leadership of Labor Secretary Alexis Herman, the U.S. helped to shape a convention that can be widely ratified. A tripartite panel of American government, labor and business representatives has reviewed the convention and concluded that the United States can ratify the convention without changing our laws or regulations. Under the convention, the United States and all ratifying nations accept a basic obligation to "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor, as a matter of urgency."

By ratifying Convention Number 182, the Senate will make clear our resolve that no child should be subjected to slavery, prostitution or pornography, used for drug activities, or work under conditions likely to harm their health, safety, or morals. I urge the United States Senate to support this convention to demonstrate our commitment and enhance our ability to help lead the world in eliminating the worst forms of child labor. I thank Senator Tom Harkin for his continuing leadership in the fight to eliminate abusive child labor. I look forward to working with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate leadership to advance this convention toward ratification.

### **Remarks on Departure for Little Rock, Arkansas, and an Exchange With Reporters**

*August 6, 1999*

#### **Drought/National Economy**

**The President.** Good morning. Before I leave to go home to Arkansas, I want to comment briefly on two matters.

First, I want to talk about the action we're taking to address the terrible, crippling drought that continues to grip so much of our Nation. Throughout much of this country, we have seen the worst drought since the Dust Bowl days. And as the National

Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration will formally announce later today, in Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, this is the worst drought for farmers ever recorded.

Such a natural calamity can have devastating consequences, not only for farmers but for small businesses and communities that depend upon a thriving agricultural sector and for the electric power systems so vital to our Nation. We're worked hard to help the victims of the drought and the heat wave. But as weather disruptions become even more common, and they will, they will demand a more coordinated response by the National Government. So today I'm directing that the White House immediately convene a task force of the relevant cabinet agencies to coordinate our efforts and focus our attack on this problem. We must do more. It is our duty as a national community.

Second, I want to talk a little more about our efforts to continue our prosperity for all Americans. For 6½ years now, we have pursued a different economic strategy from the previous 12 years; one based on fiscal discipline, investing in our people, selling our products around the world. It has produced sustained prosperity, the longest peacetime expansion in history. Now, it has also produced an era of surpluses after 12 years in which we quadrupled the national debt. This is working. Today we received more evidence.

Just this morning it was announced that America's remarkably low unemployment rate remains at a remarkably low rate of 4.3 percent, that inflation is low, and that last month alone, over 300,000 new jobs were created in America. This brings the total since January 1993 when I took office to 19.2 million new jobs.

We should not abandon a strategy that is working, especially since now we are beginning an era of surpluses which will enable us to meet our big, long-term challenges for the 21st century, the aging of America, the education of our children, sustaining our long-term economic growth. Therefore I am disappointed, though not surprised, that the majority party in Congress has chosen to pass its massive tax cut; one that plainly would damage our economic future and make it im-

possible to secure and modernize Medicare. But again, I want to assure the American people—because this tax cut will not save and strengthen Medicare, because it will not add a day to the Social Security Trust Fund, because it will not pay down the debt and pay it off for the first time in over 150 years—this tax cut will not become law.

This morning it was reported in the press that the Republican leadership has revealed that actually they have the secret strategy even to spend the Social Security surplus. They very explicitly want to raid the Social Security surplus to pay for huge economic—huge tax cuts and a risky economic scheme. They say they're spending more money now to force that result. Now, that's the sort of thing they did before that got us in trouble and gave us an average unemployment rate that was too high and a growth rate that was too low and huge, huge deficits.

This really troubles me because for the last 2 years they have promised the American people they would work with us to save Social Security first. I can think of nothing more cynical and irresponsible. My strategy is still the same. Let's do first things first. Let's save Social Security, save and strengthen Medicare, pay off the national debt for the first time since 1835, figure out what we have to invest in the education of our children and in the national defense and preserving the environment and our essential mission, and then give the rest of the money back to the American people in a tax cut.

We can have a tax cut, but it is wrong to put the cart before the horse. It is wrong to plan the vacation before we pay the home mortgage and send the kids to college. That's what they're proposing to do. It is wrong. It will take us right back to the situation that got us in so much trouble in the 1980's, and I will not countenance it. But we can make progress.

Just today there was a report that, led by the Republican physicians in the House of Representatives, enough Republicans have joined the Democrats to guarantee that the House will pass a strong Patients' Bill of Rights. This is the sort of thing we can do if we work across party lines, as we did with welfare reform, as we did in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. We can do something

that would have seemed impossible just a few years ago. We can pay off the national debt, keep interest rates low, and give our children a healthy economy for a generation. We can save Social Security. We can save and strengthen Medicare with preventive benefits and the prescription drug. We can do these things. We can invest in our children's future. We can use this historic opportunity of a lifetime to do our duty by the next generation.

This is not a time to walk away from that duty, and again I implore the Members of the Republican majority to come up with their own Medicare plan, sit down with me and talk about it, figure out what we have to spend and invest, and then we can give the rest back to the American people in a tax cut. But we have to do first things first.

I will not—I will not see, after 6½ years of progress, us return to the problems that we faced in the years before I took office. We're not going to do it. It is not right. We should be looking to the 21st century and facing the challenges and doing right by our children. And that's exactly what I intend to do.

#### ***Drought Relief and Farm Aid***

**Q.** Mr. President, on this Federal drought task force, sir—on this Federal drought task force, sir, what specifically do you have in mind? What could the Federal Government do that it's not doing now? And how do you respond to critics who say you haven't pushed hard enough for drought relief now for drought-stricken farmers?

**The President.** Well, I think that there should be more drought relief in the agricultural efforts. I believe we have to go back and—before the farm bill comes to me—the emergency farm bill that is working its way through Congress is designed largely to deal with the problems of the last 4 years—record-high world crops, the collapse of the markets in Asia, the collapse of the prices. And that's important because that deals with what all the farmers do off the East Coast. But if you look at what they're facing here, there needs to be a special provision to deal with the drought crisis. And I hope that, and believe that, there will be.

So, I wish we could have done it before the August recess, but I think it will be there in time to aid the farmers. I don't believe that this Congress will walk away without doing something to deal with the emergency problem caused by the drought. I'm going to be with James Lee Witt in Arkansas tonight. We're both going to be home, and I expect to have a discussion with him about it—about what we should do.

Yes, go ahead.

**Q.** And what about the task force?

#### ***Nomination of Roger W. Ferguson, Jr.***

**Q.** What about Roger Ferguson? We understand that you're going to appoint him today to the FED?

**The President.** I am. He will be the first African-American Vice Chair of the FED. He is superbly qualified. He has served well. And I am very excited about the prospect of his service. I'm glad he's willing to do it.

#### ***Tax Cut***

**Q.** Mr. President, you've made a point of saying that the only way of strengthening Medicare and meeting your priorities would be to have a tax cut in the \$300 billion range. Are you saying that the Republicans have to come down to that range? And if so, if it were to include an across-the-board tax cut or components that you don't philosophically agree with, would you be willing to entertain those as long as it's in the \$300 billion parameters?

**The President.** No. Let me back up and say first of all, the most important thing to me is that Congress engage in the same exercise I did and that I believe the Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee tried to do, which is to say, what do we believe it will take to secure Medicare, provide a modest prescription drug benefit, these preventive changes, and all the modernization and competition things that I think we all agree need to be done—what will it take to do that?

What does the Congress—even the Republicans are up there spending a lot of money—what about the money they're going to spend over and above the '97 balanced budget limits for education, for medical research, for the teaching hospitals, the inner-

city hospitals, the therapeutic services? What about the veterans? Have they decided—what do they want to spend for defense? And we have to protect Social Security.

Now after we do all that, then they ought to ask themselves what their revenue estimates—or whatever revenue estimates they intend to use—what is left? And then that is how we ought to determine the size of the tax cut. We're doing this backwards. So you have this curious situation where the majority party is both passing a big tax cut, and passing big spending bills without any sense of how this is going to be reconciled. So to me, the most important thing is that we engage in the same process, that we put first things first.

Now, if we can agree on an amount, do I have to be flexible on how it's done? Of course I do; they have more votes than we do. Even the Democrats in Congress had a different plan than I did, and I thought they had some good ideas. The most important thing is that we engage in a process that saves Social Security and Medicare, that pays the debt off, and that continues to invest in education, defense, and the things we have to invest in. Then I think we ought to give whatever's left back to the American people in a tax cut. I obviously will argue for the fairest possible way.

I mean, if you look at the tax cut they adopted, the top one percent get 25 percent, the bottom 81 percent get 25 percent. So I think that, you know, 75 percent of the benefits go to the top 20 percent of the people. I think that there are problems with it, but I'm—clearly we'd have to negotiate the content, the details. But the amount should be determined not by politics but by arithmetic and by what we agree on in Medicare and the investments we agree to make in our country's future and our education and defense and the environment and by what we have to spend for the agriculture, for the veterans, for the problems that are now out there with the teaching hospitals, the inner-city hospitals—the therapy services have been cancelled, those kinds of things. We need to find out what we are going to do and what we have to do and what is right for the long-term interest of America, and then we can have the short-term tax cut.

And let me just make one other point about that, as we celebrate 300,000 more jobs and finally breaking the 19 million job barrier. We have seen warning after warning after warning in the business press in the last 2 weeks that a big tax cut in the face of this growing economy would be viewed as an inflationary measure which would cause the markets to raise interest rates, which would turn right around and take the benefits away from ordinary Americans that they get from tax cuts. If you get a tax cut today and the tax cut causes higher home mortgage rates, higher car payment rates, higher interest—credit card rates, higher college loan rates, and a weaker economy, then it won't take long for that tax cut to disappear in the flash of an eye. And that's another thing that ought to be considered here.

#### ***Inflation and Interest Rates/FED Chairman Alan Greenspan***

**Q.** Mr. President, regardless of the tax cut debate, the unemployment report today was only the latest in a series this week that have raised concerns about inflation. Would a small increase in interest rates now be an understandable response to that? And secondly, have you made any decisions on Chairman Greenspan and another term at the FED?

**The President.** Well, first of all, I think he has done a terrific job, and they will make their own judgments. But what I am doing is designed—he testified in the Congress along these lines. Now I'm very gratified that the actual inflation rate is not high. It is true that we're finally getting some wage increases the last 2½ to 3 years for ordinary people, and they're getting ahead again after 20 years of falling behind. And I think that's good. But we—what—we should do everything we can—those of us with political responsibilities in the Government, to fight inflationary pressures so we continue to create jobs and raise incomes without inflation which will certainly raise interest rates. The market will raise them, whatever the FED does, if we really have big inflation come back into the economy.

So I'm doing my best to hold inflation down. And that's the signal that I want to send today. I never comment on the interest

rate decisions of the FED, and I don't want to start now. I think that we have had an independent policy, but our policies have reinforced one another, which is to have growth and jobs without inflation. And that's what I think we should do.

Thank you very much.

### **End of Fiscal Year**

**Q.** The end of the fiscal year is just 2 months away. Do you think we'll have a train wreck, sir?

**The President.** No.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

### **Statement on the Anniversary of the United States Embassy Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania**

*August 6, 1999*

One year ago twin explosions at America's Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam claimed the lives of 12 dedicated Americans, 44 Kenyan and Tanzanian nationals working to support our diplomatic efforts, and more than 200 others going about their daily lives. Thousands more were injured, many seriously.

The intended victims of this vicious crime stood for everything that is right about our country and the world—Americans and Africans, working together for peace and progress and a better future. They were good people, taken from us precisely because they were doing good.

Terrorists murdered these men and women and tore the hearts of those who loved them. But their violence could not and did not destroy the ideals for which their victims stood. Instead, we have only intensified our commitment to fundamental values: democracy and human rights, justice and tolerance.

Their violence could not and did not damage America's bonds with Kenya, Tanzania, and the other striving nations of Africa. Instead, our governments and peoples worked hand in hand to respond to the tragedy, and

we remain united in our determination that terrorism will not destroy Africa's progress.

Their violence could not and did not make America shrink from the world. Instead of giving in to those who wish us harm, we have stayed engaged—to promote freedom and opportunity, fight hunger and disease, build peace and stability, and thereby, protect our national interests. And we have intensified the struggle against terrorist violence and strengthened security to protect our people. We have increased pressure on the Taliban and Afghanistan to deliver suspects in the Embassy bombings. Working with our friends abroad, we have tracked down, arrested, and indicted key suspects. And we will not rest until justice is done.

The terrorists who bombed our Embassies could not and did not erase the lives of selflessness, courage, and joy that these 12 proud Americans lived. Today their names are inscribed at the State Department, so that all who pass through its halls will be reminded of them and their good deeds: Sergeant Jesse Nathan Aliganga; Julian Bartley, Sr.; Julian Bartley, Jr.; Jean Dalizu; Molly Huckaby Hardy; Sergeant Kenneth Hobson; Prabhi Gupta Kavalier; Arlene Kirk; Dr. Mary Louise Martin; Ann Michelle O'Connor; Senior Master Sergeant Sherry Lynn Olds; Uttamlal "Tom" Shah.

We remember their contributions, their sacrifice, and the happiness they brought to those who knew them. And we will remember our obligation to all the men and women who serve our country overseas and to their families—to help them do their jobs and live their lives in the face of peril and to reward their service and faith in America with our gratitude and support.

The struggle against violent hate, and for a peaceful and tolerant world is far from over. But in the end, we will prevail against terrorism, because the spirited dedication of men and women like those who perished last August 7th lives on among people of good will all over the world. No bullet or bomb can ever destroy it.



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## **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

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### **August 2**

The President announced his intention to nominate Neal S. Wolin to be General Counsel at the Department of the Treasury.

The President announced his intention to nominate Stephen D. Van Beek to be Associate Deputy Secretary and Director of Intermodalism for the Department of Transportation.

### **August 3**

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL. In the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC, arriving in the evening.

The President announced his intention to nominate Kathryn M. Turman to be Director of the Office for Victims of Crime at the Department of Justice.

The President announced his intention to nominate David J. Hayes to be Deputy Secretary at the Department of the Interior.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael J. Frazier to be Assistant Secretary for Governmental Affairs at the Department of Transportation.

The President directed the Department of Health and Human Services to release \$55 million in Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program emergency funds for nine States affected by the ongoing heat wave.

The White House announced that the President will meet with Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit of Turkey at the White House on September 28.

### **August 4**

The President announced the nomination of Ivan Itkin to be Director of the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management at the Department of Energy.

The President announced the nomination of Gregory L. Rohde to be Assistant Secretary for Communications and Information at the Department of Commerce.

The President announced his intention to appoint Cecille Pulitzer as a member of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board.

### **August 5**

The President announced his intention to nominate Carol J. Parry to be a member of the Board of Governors for the Federal Reserve System.

The President announced his intention to nominate Paul Hill to be Chair and member of the Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate John W. Marshall to be Director of the U.S. Marshals Service at the Department of Justice.

The President announced his intention to nominate John J. Goglia to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate Dan Herman Renberg to be a member of the Board of Directors at the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

The White House announced that the President will award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to the following individuals during the week of August 9: Lloyd M. Bentsen; Edgar M. Bronfman, Sr.; Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter; Evy Dubrow; Sister M. Isolina Ferre; Gerald R. Ford; Oliver White Hill; Max Kampelman; and Edgar Wayburn.

### **August 6**

In the morning, the President traveled to Little Rock, AR.

The President announced the nomination of Sylvia V. Baca to be Assistant Secretary for Land and Minerals Management at the Department of the Interior.

The President announced the nomination of Richard A. Meserve to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The President will designate him as Chair upon appointment.

The President announced the nomination of George Farr to be a member of the Internal Revenue Service Oversight Board.

The President announced the nomination of Linda Morgan to be a member of the Surface Transportation Board. The President will designate her as Chair upon appointment.

The President announced his intention to nominate Roger W. Ferguson, Jr., to be Vice Chair of the Board of Governors for the Federal Reserve System.

The President announced his intention to appoint Sam Kathryn Campana as a member of the National Drought Policy Commission.

The White House announced that the President will attend the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders Meeting September 12–13 in Auckland, New Zealand.

The White House also announced that Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik of Norway will travel to Washington for a working visit with the President at the White House on October 15.

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### **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

#### ***Submitted August 2***

Sam Epstein Angel,  
of Arkansas, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission for a term of 9 years (reappointment).

Brig. Gen. Robert H. Griffin, USA,  
to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission.

Stephen D. Van Beek,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Associate Deputy Secretary of Transportation, vice John Charles Horsley, resigned.

Neal S. Wolin,  
of Illinois, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury, vice Edward S. Knight, resigned.

#### ***Submitted August 3***

Ivan Itkin,  
of Pennsylvania, to be Director of the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management,

Department of Energy, vice Daniel A. Dreyfus, resigned.

Edward M. Stimpson,  
of Idaho, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Representative of the United States of America on the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (new position).

Richard K. Eaton,  
of the District of Columbia, to be a Judge of the U.S. Court of International Trade, vice R. Kenton Musgrave, retired.

Michael J. Frazier,  
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation, vice Steven O. Palmer, resigned.

David J. Hayes,  
of Virginia, to be Deputy Secretary of the Interior, vice John Raymond Garamendi, resigned.

Gregory Rohde,  
of North Dakota, to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information, vice Clarence L. Irving, Jr.

Kathryn M. Turman,  
of Virginia, to be Director of the Office for Victims of Crime, vice Aileen Catherine Adams.

Gail S. Tusan,  
of Georgia, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Georgia, vice G. Ernest Tidwell, retired.

#### ***Submitted August 4***

Dan Herman Renberg,  
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for a term expiring January 20, 2003, vice Julie D. Belaga, term expired.

#### ***Submitted August 5***

Ruben Castillo,  
of Illinois, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 2003, vice Michael Gelacak, term expired.

Sterling R. Johnson, Jr., of New York, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 2001, vice Julie E. Carnes, term expired.

Diana E. Murphy, of Minnesota, to be Chair of the U.S. Sentencing Commission, vice Richard P. Conaboy.

Diana E. Murphy, of Minnesota, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for the remainder of the term expiring October 31, 1999, vice Richard P. Conaboy, resigned.

Diana E. Murphy, of Minnesota, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 2005 (reappointment).

William Sessions III, of Vermont, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 2003, vice Michael Goldsmith, term expired.

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### **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

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The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

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#### ***Released August 2***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Transcript of a press briefing by Director of National Drug Control Policy Barry McCaffrey on the national drug control strategy

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Extends Condolences to Victims of Indian Train Crash

#### ***Released August 3***

Transcript of a press briefing by Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Planning

Bruce Reed on the President's meeting with the National Welfare to Work Forum

Statement by the Press Secretary: Meeting with His Excellency Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

Announcement: President Clinton Releases Second Round of Emergency Funds To Respond to Heat Wave

Announcement of nominations for a U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Georgia and a U.S. Court of International Trade Judge

#### ***Released August 4***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary on the appointment of Mara Rudman as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Chief of Staff to the National Security Adviser

#### ***Released August 5***

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing the Presidential Medal of Freedom awards

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Clinton and Vice President Gore Strengthening the Partnership With State and Local Governments

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of West Virginia

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Attorney for the District of South Dakota

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of California

Announcement of nominations for four U.S. District Judges and two U.S. Court of Appeals Judges

#### ***Released August 6***

Statement by the Press Secretary on the convention concerning the prohibition and elimination of child labor

Statement by the Press Secretary: Meeting with His Excellency Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Clinton Announces Legislation To Provide Parity for Central American and Haitian Migrants

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Clinton Travels to New Zealand for APEC Leaders Meeting and State Visit

Statement by the Press Secretary on the establishment of a task force to coordinate the Federal response to the drought

Announcement: U.S. Special Envoy for the Americas, Mr. Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay, Jr., Visits Countries of the Eastern Caribbean and the Dominican Republic

Announcement of nomination for U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York

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### **Acts Approved by the President**

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#### ***Approved August 2***

S. 361 / Private Law 106-1  
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to transfer to John R. and Margaret J. Lowe

of Big Horn County, Wyoming, certain land so as to correct an error in the patent issued to their predecessors in interest

S. 449 / Private Law 106-2  
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to transfer to the personal representative of the estate of Fred Steffens of Big Horn County, Wyoming, certain land comprising the Steffens family property

#### ***Approved August 5***

S. 880 / Public Law 106-40  
Chemical Safety Information, Site Security and Fuels Regulatory Relief Act

S. 604 / Public Law 106-41  
Lake Oconee Land Exchange Act

S. 1258 / Public Law 106-42  
Patent Fee Integrity and Innovation Protection Act of 1999

S. 1259 / Public Law 106-43  
Trademark Amendments Act of 1999

S. 1260 / Public Law 106-44  
To make technical corrections in title 17, United States Code, and other laws